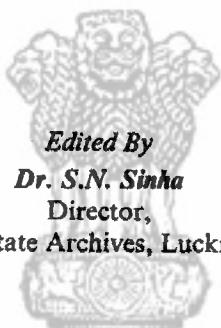


उत्तर प्रदेश में साइमन कमीशन SIMON COMMISSION IN U.P.

(Documents preserved in the U.P. State Archives)



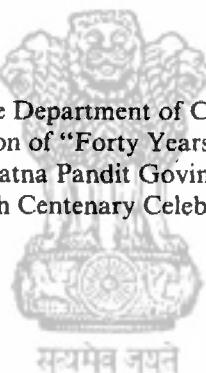
Edited By
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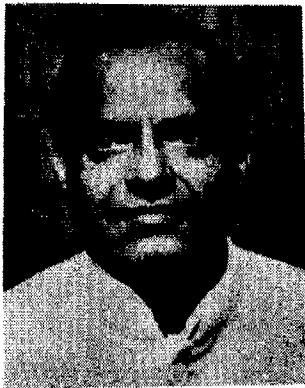


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Birth Centenary Celebrations."





सन्देश

मुझे यह जानकर प्रसन्नता है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रथम मुख्यमंत्री भारतरत्न पं० गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत की जन्मशती तथा स्वतंत्रता की 40वीं वर्षगांठ समारोहों के उपलक्ष में राजकीय अभिलेखागार, लखनऊ, सांस्कृतिक कार्य विभाग “उत्तर प्रदेश में साइमन कमीशन” नामक पुस्तक का प्रकाशन कर रहा है।

साइमन कमीशन के विरोध में देश भर में आयोजित बहिष्कार कार्यक्रम हमारे स्वतंत्रता संग्राम की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना है। साइमन कमीशन के देशव्यापी बहिष्कार के दौरान ही हमारे महान नेता पंजाब केसरी लाला लाजपत राय पुलिस की लाठियों से धायल हो गये और बाद में शहीद हो गये। इसी बहिष्कार के दौरान लखनऊ में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को पुलिस के लाठी प्रहार से बचाने के प्रयास में श्रद्धेय पंत जी को गम्भीर घोटे आयी थीं। देश के लोगों ने किस प्रकार एकजुट होकर स्वतंत्रता के लिए संघर्ष किया और आजादी के लिए हंसते-हंसते असंख्य कष्ट सहे, साइमन कमीशन का बहिष्कार उसका एक ज्वलंत उदाहरण है।

मुझे आशा है कि यह पुस्तक लोगों को खासतौर पर नयी पीढ़ी को भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के उस अध्याय का स्मरण करायेगी और देश की आजादी और एकता को सुरक्षित रखने के लिए बड़े से बड़े त्याग और बलिदान करने के लिए प्रेरित और प्रोत्साहित करेगी।

प्रकाशन की सफलता के लिए मेरी शुभकामनाएँ।

बीर बहादुर सिंह

मुख्य मंत्री उत्तर प्रदेश

श्रीमती दीपा कौल
राज्य मंत्री
सूचना, सांस्कृतिक कार्य, पर्यावरण,
परिस्थिति विज्ञान तथा विज्ञान एवं प्रोग्राम

कार्यालय : 48635
फोन : सी० एच० : 8283
आवास : 42846
विधान भवन
लखनऊ
दिनांक 25 नवम्बर, 1987

सन्देश

मुझे यह जानकर प्रसन्नता हुई कि स्वतंत्रता की 40 वीं वर्षगाँठ एवं पंडित गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत जन्म शताब्दी समारोह के उपलक्ष में आयोजित स्मृति-दिवस पर उत्तर प्रदेश राजकीय अभिलेखागार द्वारा एक पुस्तक का प्रकाशन किया जा रहा है। सन् 1927 में लाई इविंस द्वारा घोषित “भारतीय सुधार कमीशन” का उद्देश्य भारत को औपनिवेशिक स्वराज्य किस अंश तक दिया जाय इस पर विचार करना था। यह एक प्रवंचना थी। उसी वर्ष मद्रास अधिवेशन में कांग्रेस ने इसके बहिष्कार का प्रस्ताव पास किया। यह भारत में स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई का प्रमुख निर्णय था।

मुझे आशा है कि इस विषय पर प्रकाशित पुस्तक नयी पीढ़ी के लिये प्रेरणादायक होगी। पुस्तक की सफलता के लिये मेरी शुभकामनाएँ।

दीपा कौल

FOR E W O R D

The boycott of the Simon Commission is an important landmark in our freedom struggle. It gave a great impetus to our National Movement. The British authorities appointed an 'all white' Statutory Commission in 1927, widely known as Simon Commission after the name of its Chairman, John Allsebrook Simon of the Liberal Party of England. It was to report on the working of the Montford Reforms of 1919 and to suggest further reforms. The absence of even a single Indian in the Commission was indeed insulting to the Indian aspirations and self respect. It proved a signal for the unprecedented agitation in the country. Almost all the Indian Political Parties condemned its composition and decided not to give the Commission any cooperation. The Commission, however, commenced its work. It visited different places in the country but was boycotted every where. It was greeted with black flags, *hartals* and the slogan, 'Simon, Go Back' wherever it went. The police had to open fire in Bombay and Madras and resorted to *lathi* charge in Lahore, Lucknow etc. Lala Lajpat Rai, 'the Lion of the Punjab' was fatally wounded by *lathi* blows. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant faced the *lathi* charge in this historic city of Lucknow while they were leading the protest processions.

On the occasion of the celebrations of the "Forty Years of our Freedom" and "Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant Birth Centenary", the Cultural Affairs Department, U.P. with the collaboration of the U.P. State Archives, Lucknow is bringing about a publication on 'Simon Commission in U.P.' based on records and newspapers preserved in the U.P. State Archives. It consists of original documents which throw light on the programme of the Commission, protest processions, official narrative of the events and news and views expressed in different newspapers.

I am confident that this work will be a useful contribution in the history of our freedom struggle. It brings to light many new facts hitherto hidden in the records preserved in the U.P. State Archives.

I would also like to place on record my appreciation for the pains that Dr. S.N. Sinha, Director, U.P. State Archives, Lucknow and the members of his staff have undertaken to prepare this work within a very short span of time.

Lucknow:
24th November, 1987



SURENDRA MOHAN
I.A.S.

Principal Secretary
Cultural Affairs Department, U.P.

सत्यमेव जयते

प्रस्तावना

भारत की स्वतंत्रता की 40वीं वर्षगाँठ एवं भारतरत्न पं० गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत जन्म शताब्दी समारोह के उपलक्ष में राजकीय अभिलेखागार, लखनऊ, सांस्कृतिक कार्य विभाग “उत्तर प्रदेश में साइमन कमीशन” नामक पुस्तक का प्रकाशन कर रहा है।

भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के इतिहास में साइमन कमीशन का बहिष्कार एक अत्यन्त ही महत्वपूर्ण घटना है। यह बहिष्कार अनन्य भारतवासियों के हृदयों में प्रस्फुटित स्वतंत्रता की भावना की द्योतक थी। यह बहिष्कार इस बात का भी द्योतक था कि भारत की अपार जनसंख्या को ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद अधिक दिनों तक नियन्त्रित नहीं कर पायेगा। उन असंख्य भारतवासियों को श्रद्धांजलि के रूप में इस पुस्तक का प्रकाशन किया जा रहा है जिसमें उस बहिष्कार से सम्बन्धित सुरक्षित अभिलेख एवं समाचारों का प्रकाशन किया जा रहा है। यह पुस्तक भारत की नई पीढ़ी को उन वीर सेनानियों की याद अवश्य ही करायेगी।

अनुल बगाई

संयुक्त सचिव, उत्तर प्रदेश शासन

26 नवम्बर, 1987



सत्यमेव जयते

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INTRODUCTION

The present publication describes the visit of the Simon Commission in U.P. The unpublished correspondence in the custody of this Archives contains material for extensive research work on this subject. In this book, however, selected official papers from the Secretariat Records along with newspaper clippings submitted for the perusal of the Government have been included to create interest on the subject.

The boycott of the Simon Commission throughout India is a memorable episode in the annals of India nationalism. Section 84 of the Government of India Act, 1919 provided for the appointment of a Statutory Commission to examine and report on its working but political considerations both in England and in India hastened the appointment of the Commission two years earlier. Lord Irwin, the Governor General and Viceroy of India announced the Constitution of the Commission on November 8, 1927. The Commission consisted of the representatives of different parties in England — two Labourites, one Liberal and four Conservatives, all under the Chairmanship of Sir John Allsebrook Simon of the Liberal Party. Other members of the Commission were Viscount Burnham, Baron Strathcona, George Richard Lane Fox, Edward Cecil George Cadogan, Vernon Hartshorn and Clement Richard Attlee. John Simon, a lawyer by profession had entered the House of Commons in 1906. He had served his country in different capacities from 1910 onwards. In 1927, he was asked to head the "all-white" Commission. It was stated that according to the terms of the Government of India Act, 1919 only members of the British Parliament could be appointed to it, but this excuse was baseless as there were two Indians in the British Parliament. Lord Sinha in the House of Lords and Mr. Saklatwala in the House of Commons. Sir Tej

Bahadur Sapru had announced as early as in June 1927 that India was to have no representation on it. The complete omission of Indians from the personnel of the Commission was taken for an insult and humiliation. Sir Stanley Reed rightly remarked : "No greater insult was ever offered to a proud and sensitive people." All India Parties — the Congress, the Muslim League and the Liberals protested vehemently against the composition of the Commission. The All India Leaders Manifesto issued on November 16, 1927 declared its intention to give the Commission, no cooperation whatsoever. The Indian National Congress had its annual session in 1927 at Madras. It declared itself in favour of the boycott of the Commission "at every stage and in every form". It approved of mass demonstration against it. The Commission arrived in India in two phases. In the first phase it landed in Bombay on February 3, 1928 and went back on March 29, 1928 ; in the second phase it arrived at Bombay on October 11, 1928 and returned back to England on April 13, 1929.

When the Commission landed in Bombay on February 3, 1928 it was greeted with a countrywide *hartal*. It was boycotted everywhere with black flags, and slogans of 'Simon, go back' and "thus vast members of the Indian masses became acquainted not only with Sir John Simon's name but with two words of the English language, the only two they knew." Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru writes in his Autobiography that while the members of the Commission were staying in the Western Hostel in New Delhi, the jackals infesting the waste places of the capital disturbed them. They were greatly irritated thinking that the people were pursuing them even at night.

During the course of the visit of the Commission to the various cities of India there occurred minor conflicts between the police and the people but "Lahore brought matters to a head and suddenly sent a thrill of indignation throughout the country" Lala Lajpat Rai, 'the Lion of the Punjab' who headed the anti - Simon Commission demonstration at Lahore was assaulted and beaten on his chest with a baton He said : "The *lathi* blows that are hurled on me, will one day prove as nails in the coffin of the British empire." The serious injury on his chest hastened his death a few weeks later.

In U.P. the Royal Commission visited Agra, Lucknow and Kanpur from 28th November 1928 to 11th December 1928.

AGRA :

The Commission arrived at Agra on November 28, 1928. Before reaching Agra Railway Station the train carrying the members of the Commission halted at Kitham Railway Station near Agra. The boycotters demonstrated at both the places viz. near Kitham as well as Agra Railway Stations with black flags and cries of 'Go Back, Simon'. The demonstrators were led by B. Dwarka Nath, B. Radha Krishan Bhargava and Pt. Madan Mohan Chaturvedi near Kitham Railway Station and Pt. Raj Nath Kunzru and Seth Achal Singh near Agra Railway Station respectively.

LUCKNOW :

The Commission was due in Lucknow on November 30, 1928. The local Boycott Committee led by B. Moham Lal Saksena made extensive preparations for its boycott. The Government authorities, on the other hand, were keen to give a rousing reception to the Commission and avoid, as far as possible, the hostile demonstration before it. The Inspector General of Police, U.P. in his letter dated October 31, 1928 addressed to the Chief Secretary, U.P. enquired whether the hostile demonstration was to be dispersed under ordinary law ? Kr. Jagdish Prasad, the Chief Secretary was of the view that if order for the regulation of the demonstration was passed, it would give the demonstrators a good opportunity of disobeying them and posing as martyrs. Malcom Hailey, the Governor of U.P. wrote to Mr. G.B. Lambert, the Finance Member on November 3, 1928, "It seems very probable that we shall have to face a demonstration against it. (the Commission) Said Ahmed, the Home Member held that the demonstration was expected 'to be on a fairly large scale'. The matter was discussed in detail with the Governor and it was decided that a public reception of the Royal Commission should be avoided ; only selected persons viz, the Governor, ministers and officials were to be present on the Railway Station. Processions were not to be prohibited so long as they did not cross or approached the route of the Commission, but this policy could be altered if the exigencies of the situation demanded.

Before the actual arrival of the Commission at Lucknow, huge processions and demonstrations were organised on 18th, 23rd and 24th November, 1928, both as propaganda and as a rehearsal for the actual

show. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru arrived in Lucknow on November 25, 1928. He distributed a circular: 'They have Dared' among the students of the Lucknow University. His presence gave strength to the people. C.W. Gwynne, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow in his report on the events of Lucknow remarked : "The cause of this unrest are primarily the presence of Jawahar Lal Nehru in Lucknow and his action in deliberately inflaming the students of the University and school boys. Without him little or nothing could have been achieved in Lucknow." On November 28, 1928 the Congress Committee decided to take out a procession from the Congress office. The authorities objected to the proposed route and did not give licence to take out the procession. The Congress Party insisted on taking out the procession and in consequence thereof had to face *lathi* blows. The same story was enacted on November 29, 1928. It was a day of great activity. The Municipal Board had closed all schools and offices on that day as a mark of protest against the Simon Commission, and in memory of Lala Lajpat Rai. The University students "struck" and throughout the day students and school boys were busy working for the demonstration of the 30th November, 1928. At about 3 p.m. the Congress workers organised a procession from Narahi to Aminuddaulah Park. The authorities blocked the passage of the processionists on Nawal Kishore Road and used force to disperse them. Several persons including Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, who were leading the procession, were beaten by the police. Pt. Nehru has described this incident in his Autobiography. He writes : "When I looked round to find that a mounted police man was trotting upto me brandishing his long new batonHe gave me two resounding blows on the back Our volunteers gathered together again, many of them bleeding and with split skulls and were joined by Pant and his lot who had also been belaboured....."

The Commission was to arrive at Charbagh Railway Station at 8 a.m. The incident of 29th evening had roused up Lucknow. The main procession started from the Congress office. It was stopped by the police as it approached the Railway Station. The place allotted to the Congressmen was far off from the route of the Commission. The Congress leaders, therefore, directed their followers to assemble in the plot of land behind the house of Mr. A.P. Sen. The authorities informed

them that the place had been allotted to the Depressed Classes. The Congress volunteers decided to stand in close proximity to the Depressed Classes. The police thought it useless to argue with the demonstrators and used force. Pt. Nehru who was a victim of the brute force narrates in his autobiography : "The place was full of foot and mounted police as well as the military..... Behind the charging lines these people lay on the ground, some still unable to move, others writhing in pain and the whole appearance of the *maidan* was that of a battle field..... And then began a beating of us, and battering with *lathis* and long batons both by the mounted and the foot police..... I felt half blinded with the blows,.....our line began to yield slowly..... This left me some what isolated, and more exposed at the sides. More blows came and then I was suddenly lifted off my feet from behind and carried off, to my great annoyance." He adds : "But fortunately I was not injured in any vital spot. Many of our companions were less fortunate, and were badly injured. Govind Ballabh Pant, who stood by me, offered a much bigger target, being six feet odd in height, and the injuries he received then have resulted in a painful and persistent malady which prevented him for a long time from straightening his back or leading an active life." Pt. Nehru, in his statement to the Associated Press paid a rich tribute to the chivalry of students who shielded him. He remarked : "Lucknow, especially the young men and students distinguished themselves by their discipline and courage and Lucknow has reason to be proud of the events of the morning."

The brute force used by the police on the demonstrators at Lucknow on 30th November 1928 could not subdue the demonstrators and they prepared themselves for another demonstration on 5th December 1928 when the Commission was to attend a Garden Party hosted by the Taluqdars in Kaiserbagh : Some of the boycotters devised a novel idea of showing their disapproval by flying black kites and balloons with the words, 'Simon, go back'. Inspite of all the necessary precautions taken by the authorities, the boycotters under the leadership of Gauri Shanker Mishra managed to stage the demonstration. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad complained about the posting of policemen near his residence.

KANPUR :

As per its prearranged schedule the Statutory Commission had

gone to Kanpur for a day on 3rd December, 1928. It gave an opportunity to the people of Kanpur to demonstrate against the Commission. R.N. Marsh Smith, the Superintendent of Police, Kanpur, wrote in his report : "But for the untimely death of Lala Lajpat Rai these efforts would have fallen completely flat, and once again but for the incidents at Lucknow everything would have been but a very minor success." A procession had been taken out in the city on 2nd December, 1928. It was indicative of the possible hostile intention of the public. The members of the Commission who reached Kanpur in motor cars had to face a huge demonstration of about 3000 men. Every thing was peaceful by then, but when the Commission went to see McRobertganj Settlement, the crowd gathered on the road near Nawabganj. It was thought risky to take the Commission through that way and it was, therefore, diverted and brought up to Agricultural College gate. The students near the College became restive and threw stones on the motor cars. The Director of Agriculture, U.P. was asked to make a full enquiry into the matter. He submitted his report on 31st January, 1929 in which he recommended disciplinary action mainly against two students, viz. A.N. Shivapuri and Zainuddin Ahmad Kirmani.

PRESS AND THE U.P. COUNCIL :

There was a great criticism of the police assault on the peaceful demonstrators at Lucknow. The different newspapers reported the incidents under the captions : 'Perverted Understanding of the Bureaucracy', 'Naked Dance of the Lucknow Police,' 'Baton-Rule at Lucknow,' 'Police Beware,' 'Adding Insult to Injury,' 'An Insult to K.C.S.I.' etc. Swadesh, published from Gorakhpur commented : "..... By striking Pantji, the leader of the non official party and well - known councillor Tiwariji with batons and spears government has insulted the whole body of non-official councillors and by beating Pt. Jawahar Lal it has thrown out an open challenge to the youths."

The matter was also discussed in the U.P. Council. On December 30, 1928. C.Y. Chintamani moved an adjournment motion for discussion on the police assaults on peaceful citizens of Lucknow on 28th, 29th and 30th November and the attitude of the Government in respect thereof. The motion was discussed the same day at 4 o'clock and was carried by the House. Speaking on the motion, Pt. Govind Ballabh

Pant observed : "If a personal explanation or a confession of faith can be permitted, I am prepared to say with all humility that I am proud of the part I took on November 29 and 30, and it is my prayer, my sincere and earnest humble prayer to the Almighty that he may give me strength to face the brute force of which we are the victims not only when it is displayed by means of batons, but when we have to face more severe ordeals, for it is only thus that one can put an end to a *RAJ* which is based entirely and exclusively on brutal, physical force or might and on nothing else."

If the Americans could enunciate the principle : "No taxation without representation" during their war of Independence against the British imperialism, the Indians had every right to show their disapproval for a Commission in which they had no representation.

I am grateful to the Proprietors of 'Shakti Saptahik', Almora, for utilising some excerpts from the esteemed paper in this work. I am equally grateful to several other newspapers whose comments have been incorporated in this book and which could be available to us only in the relevant Government files on the subject.

Dr. (Smt.) Sandhya Nagar, Sri Om Prakash, Dr Lalta Prasad, Technical Assistants, U.P. State Archives, Lucknow and Shri Amar Singh, Junior Technical Assistant, Regional Archives, Nainital worked with indefatigable energy and sincerity in sorting out the material from amongst the records and have helped me in its publication.

Sri Rajendra Bahadur, Assistant Director cum Administrative Officer, U.P. State Archives, Lucknow has assisted me in the publication of this book with zeal and devotion.

Lucknow :

25th November, 1987.

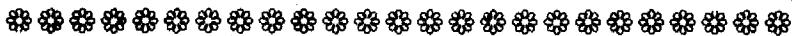
S.N. SINHA
DIRECTOR,
U.P. State Archives,
Lucknow.



NARRATIVE OF EVENTS



सत्यमेव जयते



THEY HAVE DARED

CIRCULAR ISSUED BY PT. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU TO THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW.

It is announced in the public press that the Lucknow University authorities have invited Sir John Simon and his undistinguished Crew to the University Convocation. I do not know who these authorities are, but every school boy knows that India has resented the appointment and the coming of the Simon Commission and has boycotted it. Has no whisper of this reached the academic ears of the Lucknow University authorities ? Have they not heard or felt in their boudoirs the deep rumble of a nation in anger ? Do they not know how one of the greatest of India's sons was treated in Lahore city less than a month ago because he would not bow his head to this Commission which the authorities of Lucknow University have invited ? What was his greatness worth or the love that millions of his countrymen bore him before the baton of an insolent policeman ? Only a few days ago his great and generous heart pulsated with life and the warm blood throbbed through his veins, and with untiring energy his rich mind worked for the emancipation of his country and all who were oppressed in it. And then his body lay cold and stiff and the valiant spirit that had inhabited it for four and sixty years had gone. Today that body is dust and ashes. We are told by his doctors that his death was hastened by the blows received by him when he led his fellow citizens to protest against the Simon Commission. And yet the authorities of Lucknow University have invited this Commission to their convocation : And yet, they have dared ?

Young men and women of Lucknow, what say you to this infamous and insolent challenge ? Is the honour of your country nought that it can be kicked in the dust by a policeman clad in the livery of our alien rulers ?

But the poor policeman was but an instrument in other hands. What of your University Authorities who of their own free will dare to honour those whom the nation has repudiated and boycotted ? What of them and their attempt to exploit your University for the glorification of the Simon Commission ? This is the measure of their nationalism, of their love of India and her honour. This is the tribute they pay to the memory of Lajpat Rai. Will you too forget soon this fragrant memory and this shining example ?

They have dared. What dare you ? Will you not make it clear to your University Authorities, to the Simon Commission, and to all whom it may concern that the young men and young women of Lucknow cherish the memory of their departed leader and stand for the cause for which he lived and died. That they stand for the boycott of the Simon Commission and will not permit anyone to exploit them on behalf of the enemies of Indian freedom. Will you not take full part in the boycott demonstrations in Lucknow, and above all, boycott the Convocation to which your University Authorities have invited the Simon Commission ?

They have dared. Do you also dare ?



सत्यमेव जयते

— Jawaharlal Nehru

पन्त जी पर पथ-प्रदर्शक लट्ट

“शक्ति साप्ताहिक”

15 दिसम्बर, 1928

भारत वसुन्धरा ने अपने अतीत काल में तो अनेक विश्ववन्द्य महापुरुष उत्पन्न किये ही हैं, पर आधुनिक युग में भी उसने अनेक ऐसे लालों को जन्म दिया है जो न केवल कूर्माचल की, वरन् विश्व की विभूति हैं। स्वनामधन्य पं० गोविन्द बल्लभ पन्त जी भी उन्हीं में से एक नर रत्न हैं। आज उन्होंने हमारे कूर्माचल का मस्तक अपने मस्तक में लाठियों का प्रहार सहकर उन्नत किया है। हमारे बारह लाख कूर्माचलीय आपको एक आवाज से सानन्द बधाई देते हैं। हमारी एक आवाज चिरस्थाई हो जिससे हमारा दुर्गम - पथ सुगम हो जाय।

(हरिशचन्द्र जोशी)

H. WILLIAMSON, INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE, U.P.,
TO JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,
DATED OCTOBER 31, 1928.

You may have noticed in the papers that in Lahore on the occasion of the arrival of the Statutory Commission the police had to enforce order with *lathis* and that even Lajpat Rai did not escape their attention. This raises a question as to what is to be the policy when the Commission pay their visit to the United Provinces. We shall want to know definitely whether hostile demonstrations are to be permitted or not and we shall want to know whether if they do occur they should be dispersed under the ordinary law. There is no doubt that crowds yelling and shouting at the members of the Commission appointed by His Majesty's Government and at the members of the Central Committee appointed by the Government of India, are automatically an unlawful assembly and can be dispersed as such. It is merely a matter of policy as to whether such crowds should be allowed to gather and if they do gather what should be done with them.

4. NOTE FROM JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,
ADDRESSED TO G.B. LAMBERT, FINANCE MEMBER, U.P.
GOVERNMENT, DATED NOVEMBER 1, 1928.

सत्यमव नयन

..... It is difficult to say at present to what extent the *hartal* will be effective in Lucknow. The Congress Committee held a meeting at Lucknow yesterday. They will try and organise processions and demonstrations with black flags. After what has happened in Lahore, I am not sure whether it will not be possible to keep the roads clear without issuing formal orders regulating procession. Such orders give the demonstrators a good opportunity of disobeying them and posing as martyrs subsequently. So far as *hartals* are concerned I doubt if the Muslims will join in large numbers. People have got so used to these *hartals* that little notice is now taken of them. I suppose that is a reason why demonstrations are being organised to impress people, in addition to *hartals*. I think we ought to wait and see how matters develop before taking any action. We will all be back in Lucknow by Nov. 25 or earlier, if necessary, and can then decide after consulting the Commissioner and

SIMON COMMISSION IN U.P.

Dy. Commissioner whether any orders are necessary. The Commission will visit Cawnpore by motor, I understand. If there is no fixed time-table it shall be possible to dodge the demonstrators.

**W.M. HAILEY, GOVERNOR OF U.P., TO G.B. LAMBERT,
FINANCE MEMBER, U.P. GOVERNMENT,**
DATED NOVEMBER 3, 1928.

I have just been discussing with H.H.M. certain questions likely to arise out of the visit of the Statutory Commission to Lucknow. It seems very probable that we shall have to face a demonstration against it. H.H.M. holds that there is no doubt about this, and he thinks that it is likely to be on a fairly large scale. It is too early to decide as yet on any line that we may have to adopt, and I propose to discuss the question again with him and the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner at Lucknow on the 14th. Meanwhile, I think it would be well if Commissioner could give us any information which comes to him from time to time as to the course affairs are likely to take ; and I have no doubt that the local authorities will use their influence in any quarter where they may feel themselves able to dissuade people from joining in the demonstration. If you agree and have no other suggestions to make, would you kindly hand this on to the Chief Secretary.

Sरायंसेन जयने
SIMON COMMISSION AT AGRA

**ROBERT CLARKE, COMMISSIONER, AGRA DIVISION TO
JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,**
DATED DECEMBER 13, 1928.

In reply to your d.o. no. 1738-Z, dated December 11, 1928, I wish to report that the Simon Commission arrived here on the 28th November at about 9.30 in the morning. The special train of the Royal Commission halted at Kitham (a small railway station about 12 miles from Agra) for breakfast. At Kitham certain non-cooperators from Muttra were present in the station with banners and cries of "Go back Simon" B. Dwarka Nath a former Chairman of the Muttra Municipal Board, B. Radha Kishan Bhargava and Pt. Madan Mohan Chaturvedi were the

leaders, but only a handful of people accompanied them. I understand that Sir John Simon was interested and asked B. Dwarka Nath for his flag as a souvenir and B. Dwarka Nath gave it to him.

It had been arranged with the consent of His Excellency the Governor that the boycotters should be allowed to express their sentiments provided they acted in an orderly manner and kept the peace. Accordingly a place was provided for them on the roadside close to just outside the Railway Station boundaries and the loyal demonstrators mostly Muhammadans were provided with a place on the other side of the road. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Badruddin and Saiyid Ghulam Husain were prominent in arranging the loyal people. Pt. Raj Nath Kunzru a member of the Governing Body of the Agra College and Seth Achal Singh a prominent Swarajist made themselves prominent amongst the boycotters. A crowd numbering about 1500 proceeded in an orderly manner to the place allotted for them and took their stand and gave no difficulty to the authorities though a sufficient force of police had been assembled at a convenient spot to deal with any disturbance that might arise. I myself and the Collector met the representative of the Simon Commission at the Railway Station and accompanying Sir John Simon in the leading motor we passed in front of the demonstrators. The loyalists threw flowers at the motors with loud shouts of welcome and the boycotters waved black flags and shouted "Go back Simon". The proceedings were entirely orderly and no untoward incident of any kind occurred.

I accompanied all the members of the Royal Commission to Fatehpur Sikri and brought them back to the Circuit House where a special camp had been arranged. No other demonstration of any sort took place and for the remainder of the two days the members of the Commission went about in full security and without any kind of demonstration. Sir John Simon on his departure wrote me a letter in which he expressed the great pleasure, the visit to Agra had given to the Commission and expressed their appreciation of all the arrangements made during their visit to Agra.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE SIMON COMMISSION AT LUCKNOW

W. CASSELS, COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW DIVISION
TO JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.
DATED NOVEMBER 9, 1928

Your d.o. no 1439-D dated 5th inst. marked secret. I have discussed the question of the arrival of the Simon Commission in Lucknow very thoroughly with Gwynne. I have also just read a sneer in the 'Leader' about Government hurry to transport the Simon Commission from one place to another in the darkness of the night. We of course realise that our proposals & views are subject to the approval and orders of Government, but here they are, for what they are worth.

Lucknow has often been called the *de facto* capital. It has a great and deserved reputation for courtesy and hospitality. This applies not only to the Taluqdars of Oudh but to the citizens of the Chief Secretary.

It is, we think, beyond dispute and doubt, that feeling generally is in favour of a courteous welcome to the Simon Commission. There is of course a Congress minority which would welcome a 'fracas' and is ready to offend against good manners. It is, I think, quite possible and not difficult to deny them the opportunity.

It is very inadvisable for the Commission to arrive like a thief in the night ; it is equally inadvisable for them to arrive in the ordinary way and thus give a minority the chance to demonstrate and produce a false impression. It is better to have a public arrival, something on the lines of the recent public arrival of H.E. There would of course be no troops to line the route and no triumphal arches, but the Railway Station would be decorated. I presume that the Commission would be met on the platform by His Excellency, the members of Govt., the Ministers and some other officials. It is suggested that a certain number of non-official gentlemen might be presented on this occasion, say about 50, i.e. roughly the same number as were presented to H.E. It is suggested that about 200 other non-official gentlemen might be given seats or stands on the platforms, 100 on either side who would not be presented but would be glad to appear on the occasion like this.

Definite orders would have to be given as to the persons to be present on the station platform; otherwise congress men having black flags would crowd it. Besides authorised persons, it is suggested that passes might be given to some hundreds of respectable and reliable persons to come, not on the station platform, but in the station hall, or outside the station. Care would of course have to be exercised in the issuing of passes and Gwynne can be trusted to exercise it. Complete police arrangements are of course essential. Entry not only to the station but to the station compound would have to be prevented by the police, except to authorised persons. Police would have to line the route, especially at points where there are cross-roads, such as the junction of station and Abbott roads &c. The above is the general idea. The details would have to be worked out and I have asked Gwynne personally to consider which persons might be presented (i.e. non-officials) & c. It would of course rest with Government to decide about officials. Gwynne will also discuss with Peters Supdt. Police, the important question of police arrangements. The Lucknow police are undoubtedly very good and I have no doubt, would rise to the occasion.

The moving spirits, trying to organise boycott *hartal* etc. are B. Mohan Lal Saksena, an Ex-M.L.C. (Swarajist) who cuts no ice; Raja Audesh Singh of Kalakankar, a young and unbalanced Taluqdar ; and K. Ranjaya Singh (Rananjaya Singh) of Amethi, also rather half baked. None of these men have any organising ability. There would be the risk of bigger men coming in from outside, but I don't see that they could do much, on the occasion of the arrival. There may be bigger men, helping sub rosa (sic) such as the unaccountable Maharaja of Mahmudabad. If their efforts are simply confined to public meetings in the city, black flags and *hartal*, they can be dealt with in the ordinary course and need not cause anxiety. The point at present is to prevent a breach of good manners on the occasion of the arrival and to uphold the good name of Lucknow for courtesy and politeness, which I believe strongly is the wish of the great majority of leading citizens.

You say that H.E. wishes to discuss the question with Gwynne and me on the 14th, I think you mean the 15th (army cup day (sic)). The arrangements suggested will mean a good deal of work for Gwynne (DM) and Peters (SP) and therefore we shall be glad of as early orders as possible. It is my own view that the suggested proposals are perfectly

practicable, though of course it rests with Government to decide; and it is not easy to decide at a distance.

P.S. What is the suggested hour and date of the arrival of the Simon Commission?

PROGRAMME OF THE SIMON COMMISSION IN LUCKNOW

NOTE FROM JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,
DATED NOVEMBER 28, 1928.

The Simon Commission will arrive at Charbagh Station, Lucknow, at 8 a.m. on November 30. H.E. desires that they should be met by Members of the Government. The dress will be morning coat.

PROGRAMME

(1928)

Friday

30th Novr. * About 8 a.m. Commission detrain Lucknow.

* About 8.30 a.m. Indian Central Committee
detrain Lucknow.

11.30 a.m. Informal Conference (Statutory
Commission, Provincial Committee
and Indian Central Committee).

Saturday

1st Decr. 10.30 a.m.-1 p.m. Joint Conference

2.30 - 4 p.m. official witnesses.

8.30 p.m. Dinner party Government House.

Sunday

2nd Decr. 3 p.m. Chairman and some members of
Indian Statutory Commission start
out for Jehangirabad (20 miles).

4 p.m. Tea with Raja of Jehangirabad.

Monday

3rd Decr.	% 8.15 a.m.	Leave Lucknow for Cawnpore.
	% 10 a.m.	Arrival Cawnpore, meet Collector and leading citizens and depart in three groups for the Muir mills, Woolen mills and Messrs Cooper Allens leather mills.
	% 12 noon.	Visit to Mutiny sites.
	1.30 p.m.	Lunch with various hosts.
	3 p.m.	Visit to Robertganj settlement and see mill welfare work.
	3.45 p.m.	Mr. J.P. Srivastava's garden party at the Retreat, Mr.C.T. Allen's house.
	5 p.m.	Leave for Lucknow.
	7 p.m.	Arrive Lucknow.

Tuesday

4th Decr.	11 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Joint Conference
	2.30 - 4.30 p.m.	official witnesses
	9.30 p.m.	Presentation of address to His Excellency the Governor by the British Indian Association (Oudh Taluqdars). Commission invited to attend.

Wednesday

5th Decr.	4 p.m.	British Indian Association's garden party to Commission.
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Thursday

6th Decr.	11 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Joint conference
	2.30 - 4 p.m.	non-official witnesses.
	9.30 p.m.	Country League's after dinner party to Commission at Sardar Nihal Singh's house.

* Exact timings follow on receipt.

% These times will probably be altered.

Friday

- | | | |
|------------|---------------------|---|
| 7th Decr. | 10 a.m. - 12 noon | Joint conference
non-official witnesses. |
| | 12.45 (for 1 p.m.) | Raja Nawab Ali Khan's lunch to
Commission |
| | 2.30 - 4.30 p.m. | Joint conference
non-official witnesses. |
| | 4 p.m. | Lady Simon and the ladies of the
Commission's party attend
Mrs. Srivastava's Pardah Party. |
| | 8.30 p.m. | Hon. Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan of
Chhatari (Home Member)'s dinner to
Commission at the U.S. Club. |
| Saturday | | |
| 8th Decr. | 3.30 p.m. | Tennis (for those who wish to attend)
with Sardar Nihal Singh, a Taluqdar
and keen tennis player. |
| | 8.30 p.m. | Dinner party Government House. |
| Monday | | |
| 10th Decr. | 11.30 a.m. - 1 p.m. | Informal discussion with
Hon'ble Members and Ministers |
| Tuesday | | |
| 11th Decr. | 2.30 - 4.30 p.m. | |
| Tuesday | | |
| 11th Decr. | About 11 p.m. | Leave Lucknow. |

Invitations refused

To dinner from Raja of Salempur.

To a party from Syed Hamid Hussain Khan.

DETAILS OF U.P. JOINT CONFERENCE (PROVISIONAL)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1 (1928)

- 10.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m. Mr. H.A. Lane, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Revenue Secretary.
and Mr. F.F.R. Channer, I.F.S.,
Chief Conservator of Forest (with Mr Lane).
12.30 - 1 p.m. Mr. B.D.'O Darley, C.I.E., I.S.E.,
Chief Engineer, Irrigation.
2.30 - 4 p.m. Mr. E.A.H. Blunt, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S.,
Finance Secretary.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4

- 11 a.m. - 1 p.m. Sir Ivo Elliott Bart, I.C.S., Secretary, Local self-Govt. Mr. P. Mason, I.C.S., Superintendent, Dehra Dun. Mr. A. Monro., I.C.S., Collector, Cawnpore.
2.30 - 4.30 p.m. Mr. R.J.S. Dodd, C.S.I., I.P.S., Inspector General of Police.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6

- 11 a.m. - 12.30 p.m. Muhammadans (Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's Deputation).
12.30 - 1 p.m. Agra Landholders, These over
2.30 - 3 p.m. Muzaffarnagar Zamindar's lap to
Association. some extent.
3 p.m. - 4.30 p.m. Representative, Deputation from Depressed classes.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7

- 10 - 11 a.m. British India Association.
11 a.m. - 12 noon Upper Indian Chamber of Commerce.
2.30 - 3.30 p.m. Country League.
3.30 - 4.30 p.m. Reserved (possibly for individual non-officials).

**HAPPENINGS DURING THE VISIT OF
THE SIMON COMMISSION AT LUCKNOW
AS REPORTED BY C.W. GWYNNE,
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW,
DATED DECEMBER 5, 1928.**

**JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P., TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI, DATED DECEMBER 5, 1928.**

For some time the local boycott committee had been planning measures to express their disapproval of the visit to Lucknow of the Simon Commission. Several meetings were held and processions and hartals were decided on. The Committee consisted not only of the Swarajist party proper, but of members of the Hindu Sabha Committee, Liberals, Independents and others. To within a fairly late date the indications were that the Hindu Sabha and the Liberal element would concentrate on *hartal* and that the Swarajist minority led by Mohan Lal Saksena was anxious to take out black flag procession. I was of opinion that the right policy was —

- (1) to endeavour to give the Commission a courteous welcome.
- (2) to allow reasonable counter- demonstration as long as it was well behaved and disciplined.
- (3) to render impossible any calculated insolence or personal rudeness or injuries to members of the Commission. This has been our general policy right through. We have had no objection to demonstration and procession provided it is recognised as subject to reasonable orders regulating it.
- (4) to insist in order to control processions and demonstrations that no procession should be taken out without a license. This is a principle of long standing in Lucknow and of considerable local importance as it enables us to regulate our processions in the festival season. Any relaxation of this rule would set a most embarrassing precedent and could not be seriously contemplated.

The first information we received was that the organizers intended to take out a procession on the 18th of November. On the 17th of Novr. the Supdt. of Police after consulting me, issued a general and special notice upon the members of the Simon Commission Boycott Committee. The notice runs as follows : —

“Where as I am satisfied that you intend to form procession / processions, on the 18th Novr, 1928, which will be in the judgement of the District Magistrate, if uncontrolled, likely to cause a breach of the peace, I therefore require you by this general / special notice to apply to me for a license to form such processions.

Such application shall specify the time and route to be taken by such processions.

On receipt of such application action will be taken by me as prescribed under section 30 of the Police act of 1861.

Failure to comply with the orders contained in this notice will be dealt with under section 32 of the Police Act.”

The same afternoon B. Mohan Lal Saksena replied in the following letter in which he asked for permission : —

“Being given to understand that notices have been served on certain members of the Simon Commission Boycott Committee requiring them to apply for licenses for the procession which is being taken out tomorrow, I therefore intimate to you that the procession is being under the resolution of the Boycott Committee and not the direction of the members individually and it will start from the Congress Office, Aminuddaula Park, at 4 p.m. and will pass through the Aminabad Park, Aminabad Road, Arya Samaj Road, Ganeshganj, La Touche Road, Kaisar Bagh crossing and will disperse at about 8 p.m. at the Congress Office.

“I hope you will be pleased to send the necessary permission to me at the aforesaid office in time.”

Whereupon the Superintendent of Police issued a license as follows : —

“Order Under section 30 Police Act”

“Whereas you have been granted permission to take out a license to hold a procession from the Town Congress Committee Office Aminudduala Park on the 18th November 1928.

I hereby direct you to observe the following conditions and warn you that any failure on your part to comply with them will render you liable the penalties of the law.

You will start your procession from the Town Congress Committee Office at 4 p.m. and pass through Aminabad Park, Aminabad Road, reaching Ganeshganj crossing on the Arya Samaj Road before 5 o'clock and turning via Ganeshganj and going along La Touche Road, will reach Qaiserbagh crossing and from there will go back and disperse at the place of start by 8 p.m."

The same day news was received of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. The procession was abandoned and became a meeting of condolence.

We again received information that the Committee intended to take out processions on the 23rd and the 24th instant, as printed leaflets were distributed announcing the fact and stating the route. The Superintendent of Police again issued a special notice on B. Mohan Lal Saksena, who replied : —

"Received a copy of this notice through S.O. Raghuraj Singh. I have already announced the time and route of the processions by notices on the 23rd and 24th instant and I had thought that they must have reached in due course. Any way I am herewith sending you the notices giving the time and route of the processions for your information and necessary action."

The Superintendent of Police with my concurrence informed the Secretary through the Dy. Supdt. City that this was no application and demanded a proper application before midday. There upon the Secretary wrote as follows on the 23rd : —

"With reference to your notice I have already sent to you notices giving the time and routes of processions. Today's procession starts at 3 p.m. I hope you will send the necessary permission in time for both the processions."

To this the Superintendent of Police replied after consulting me in the following letter : —

"With reference to your application for license to take out procession at 3 o'clock received by me at 1 o'clock today, permission cannot be given to take the procession over the route suggested by you in the Urdu pamphlet attached to your application."

As there is no time to suggest an alternative route, I am issuing a permit for you to take out your procession over the route proposed in your previous application of the 18th instant.

Please note that this route must be rigidly adhered to.

As regards the procession on the 27th, I suggest you devise any route which does not come into Civil Lines as no procession can be allowed there.

The procession was taken out on the 23rd and again on the 24th without mishap.

Jawahar Lal Nehru arrived in Lucknow on Sunday Novr. 25th heralding his arrival with a most inflammatory circular to the students of the University of which I attach a copy marked Annexure A. *

The same evening a meeting was held in Aminuddaula Park and Jawahar Lal Nehru set to work to arouse feeling amongst the student community.

On the 26th, the Superintendent of Police received the following letter dated the 25th Novr. from the Secretary Congress Committee :—

"This is to inform you that we propose to take out a procession tomorrow at 5 p.m. from the Hindola Naka near the Canal Bridge after the meeting. The procession shall go via Abbott Road, Hissainganj, Husainganj Bazar, Abbott Road crossing, Trilok Nath Road, Kaisar Bagh crossing, Aminabad Road, Aminabad Park and back to the Congress office at 8 p.m.

I hope you will send the necessary permission in time, we do not propose to take out any procession on the 27th inst.

I would also like to know what restrictions if any do you propose to impose on the day the Commission arrives here. I may tell you that we are willing to observe any reasonable orders to regulate traffic so long as we are allowed to hold a black flag demonstration somewhere near the route, or the station within a reasonable distance. An early reply is awaited.

To this letter the Supdt. of Police replied after consulting me as follows :—

* See, 'THEY HAVE DARED', Page No. 1

"With reference to your letter no. 275, dated 25-11-28, I enclose the necessary license to take out your procession over the route specified in your application."

As regards the day on which the Indian Statutory Commission arrives in Lucknow, I would suggest that you bring your procession from the Congress Office via La Touche Road direct to the Railway station. I will allot you a place on the route on the vacant land in front of the station where the members of your procession can congregate and demonstrate. After demonstrating there they can return to the Congress office by the same route.

There is not the slightest official objection to your procession and demonstration in an orderly manner on or any other occasion provided your committee follows the rules and regulations on the subject of processions in force for some years in Lucknow for all communities in the interest of law and order.

At the same time Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena, Secretary Boycott Committee, wrote to me on the 26th Novr., as follows :—

"I have just received a letter from the Supdt. of Police dated today, in which he informs 'that there is not the slightest objection to our procession and demonstration in an orderly manner.' My Committee is glad to learn that this is the official attitude in regard to our demonstrations. So far as we are concerned, we desire perfectly orderly and disciplined demonstrations and I have no doubts that we shall succeed in this if no unnecessary restrictions are placed in our way. I shall thank you if you will kindly let me know the day and time of arrival of Sir John Simon and his colleagues at the Lucknow station so that we can make our arrangements accordingly. This will help us in regulating the demonstration in an orderly manner."

I replied by two letters, dated Novr. 27 and 28. When I wrote on the 27th it had not been settled whether the arrival of the Commission would be at 7.30 or at 8 a.m.

27th November.

"Your letter no 276, dated 26th Novr. The Royal Commission is expected to arrive on the 30th. It will be in the morning, but I cannot as yet tell you the exact time as I do not know it myself. I will inform you when I am in a position to do so.

I would ask you kindly to bear in mind the second portion of the third para of the S.P.'s letter, from which in your letter you have quoted the first portion only.

28th November

"In continuation of my letter of yesterday, I write to inform you that it has now been decided that the Royal Commission will arrive at 8 a.m. on the morning of the 30th."

Reverting for a moment to Mohan Lal Saksena's letter of the 25th to the Supdt. of Police the first paragraph is an application for a license. The Supdt. of Police granted the license in the usual terms. It should be noted that this license gave permission to the applicants to pass through a portion of the city which is technically within the Civil Lines. In his letter of the 23rd, it will be remembered that the Supdt. of Police said that no procession could go through Civil Lines. But my intention all along was to prevent demonstration in front of the Council Chamber and at Hazratganj and it was this particular portion of the Civil Lines which I had in mind and which in my opinion should be kept free from this form of demonstration. A good deal depends on whether we are right in refusing permission to go through this particular quarter.

My reasons are : (1) processions are not allowed in this quarter, (2) I was unwilling to give a precedent on which the Swarajists could base a demand at a later date to take a procession right up to the Council Chamber, and I am convinced that the more we give way the more they would demand ; (3) this is the European business quarter. It has absolutely no interest in these demonstrations. The time proposed was the evening during which time the shops do their best business, and business would thus be materially hampered .

The demonstration on the 26th passed off peacefully enough. On the 27th the Supdt. of Police received an application from the Secretary, Boycott Committee, in the following terms : —

"This is to inform you that the next procession on behalf of the Boycott Committee starts tomorrow at 4 p.m. from the Congress Office and will go to Narhai via Aminabad Road, Bisheshwar Nath Road, Lal Bagh, Hazratganj crossing, Newal Kishore Road, Outram Road, Narhai Road and Bazar, Outram Road, Hazratganj crossing, Abbott Road, Hussainganj crossing, Hewett Road, Sri Ram Road, Aminabad

Road and back to the Congress Office. It will disperse at about 8 p.m. I hope you will send the necessary permission in time."

The Superintendent of Police after consultation with me replied :—

"With reference to your letter no 277, dated the 27th Novr., 1928, asking that the necessary permission may be given you to bring a procession via Hazratganj, Newal Kishore Road, Outram Road, Abbott Road etc., I am sorry but the route proposed by you cannot be sanctioned, as no procession can be allowed to go down or across Hazratganj. As regards Abbott Road there is no objection to your including in your route the part over which your procession of the 26th passed, but it cannot come nearer Hazratganj than the Burlington Hotel crossing."

The Secretary, Congress Committee, in his letter of the 28th November replied to this as follows :—

"Your letter no. 914, dated today, reached me just now. You must have noticed from the contents of my letter that the object of the procession that side is to go to Narhai as the people are very anxious that our procession should go there and I myself had arranged the route in such a way that there may be very little interference with the traffic on the Mall. I therefore fail to see the reason why you should have thought fit to disallow the procession down or across Hazratganj. I am sorry to inform you that the very object of the procession will be defeated if we do not go to Narhai. The procession is timed to start at 4 p.m. today from the Congress Office and it is not possible to call it off now, but I assure you that I shall try to take the procession across the Mall as quickly as possible."

I should add that on the 28th there was an additional reason why we desired no demonstration in the neighbourhood of Hazratganj and the Lal Bagh. That afternoon H.E. was attending a garden party given by the Treasurers Association in Butler Park.

The Secretary's letter was in effect a challenge to our authority. He made no suggestion regarding, and did not ask for a license for, an alternative route. There was no time for further argument or discussion. Accordingly a police force sent to Aminabad, and I directed the City Magistrate to be present there, not to permit an unlicensed procession to proceed, and to disperse it if it attempted to do so. There

was no objection to their holding a demonstration in the park. At about 5 p.m. B. Mohan Lal Saksena, Secretary Boycott, and otrs began to arrange a procession with flags. The City Magistrate informed them that they could not take out the procession as they had no license. They asked for a written order. The City Magistrate held a brief conference with Pt. Kishen Prasad Kaul, Rahas Behari Tewari and B. Mohan Lal Saksena near the Congress Office. He told them that it was useless to attempt to take out a procession without a license and gave them an order in writing in the form of a letter addressed to B. Mohan Lal Saksena. B. Mohan Lal replied questioning the legality of the City Magistrate's orders and saying that he could not accede to them.

The City Magistrate's order runs as follows : —

"I see that you are taking out a procession just now without obtaining a license under Sec. 30 Police Act from the Supdt. of Police. You say that you applied for it, but mere application does not entitle you to take out a procession. A license prescribing the route should have been obtained by you and certainly you have no license to go through the Lal Bagh, Hazratganj, Shah Najaf Road, Newal Kishore Road, to Narhai and back by the Outram Road, Hazratganj crossing, Abbott Road, Hewett Road, La Touche Road and Sri Ram Road. I am sorry I cannot permit you to start your procession and go along the route proposed by you."

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena replied as follows : —

"I am in due receipt of your D.O. dated today. I am sorry I cannot see my way to accept your interpretation of Sec. 30 of the Police Act. The section only required that I should have applied for a license. As you yourself say I did apply for a license but the Supdt. Police has not sent me any license. It is no fault of mine, if I am without a license at this juncture. Under the Police Act the procession can only be regulated and not altogether stopped. However since you are pleased to stop it, I would like to know your authority to do so under the Police Act."

Under these circumstances I regret very much that I cannot see my way to accede to your wishes.

There was further discussion, but eventually an attempt was made to start the procession and the City Magistrate was informed that it was decided to disobey the orders. The processionists in spite of being

ordered to disperse began to move on and it was therefore necessary to direct the police to disperse them. Three Assistant Supdts of Police with about ten mounted police then advanced and blocked the passage of the procession, standing still on their horses in front of the processionists for three or four minutes, during which time the latter hurled filthy abuse at the police. The processionists then began to press the police horses back. Both the processionists and the crowd watching had begun at this stage to throw stones at the police and hit at them with the bamboos on which flags were carried. The crowd refused to move back and the processionists attempted to cross the railing of the park with the apparent intention of slipping round to the other side of the police force. The mounted police then, and then only, used their sticks, and no more force than was absolutely necessary was employed. A few men received bruises on the arm, and one sub-inspector got hit on the face with a stone. An Assistant Supdt. of Police was also hit on his helmet. The affair was of a few minutes only. I arrived at this stage, and the Supdt of Police about half an hour later. I explained the position to Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena and examined the injuries received. There was no serious injuries on either side. After some discussion I formally asked Mr. Saksena whether he now intended to disperse the procession. When it was thus realized that the authorities were determined to check the unlicensed procession, it stopped and a meeting of protest was held in the park.

सत्यमेव जयते

When I reached Aminabad Park, Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena first said that he had ordered the procession to disperse before the police attempted to stop it. This is obviously untrue. It is admitted both in the statement published by the Boycott Committee and is clear from Mohan Lal Saksena's letter that they decided deliberately to disobey our orders. Another remark made within the hearing of the City Magistrate is significant. It was to the effect that he Mohan Lal Saksena had clear directions from Jawahar Lal Nehru that orders such as the City Magistrate's should be disobeyed and that he could do nothing but disobey.

The question which may arise is the correct interpretation of Section 30 of the Police Act. The Congress Party seemed to think that application for a procession is sufficient and in no circumstances is a Magistrate justified in prohibiting it when a license had not been given

when it has been applied for. In the present case the applicants had applied for a permit for a procession and it had been refused by the route proposed. No permit had been granted.

As shown above however a general notice had already been served on the Secretary, Congress Committee, and therefore any attempt to take out a procession without a license was in direct contravention of the general notice legally issued requiring that all processions taken out by the Congress Committee should be duly licensed. In taking out the procession therefore they were contravening this regulation. Our action in stopping it was thus perfectly legal.

I think the Congress Committee had in mind some of the rulings quoted in Mr. Hari Rao's commentaries on the Police Act cited at pages 62 - 74 of his book, but none of these cover the circumstances of the present case.

The next day the 29th was a day of great activity. The Municipal Board had closed all schools and offices that day as a mark of protest against the Simon Commission, and in memory of Lala Lajpat Rai. The University students "struck" and throughout the day students and school boys were busy working for the boycott demonstration of the 30th, the Secretary of the Committee having on his application for information been informed by me of the date and hour of its arrival. At about 3 p.m. information was received that the Congress workers in Narahi were organizing a procession from Narahi to Aminuddaula Park. No license had been applied for, and no intimation given. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru arrived by the mail shortly afterwards and proceeded to Narahi where he lent his support and encouragement to the local Congress leaders. The authorities on ascertaining what was afoot intimated that the procession could not be taken out unless a license was obtained and mounted police were hurriedly brought to the spot. Instead however of applying for a license the leaders started off with their procession. The mounted police barred their passage eventually in Newal Kishore Road, and had to use force to stop them. Several persons were struck, and received injuries. Shortly afterwards I and the City Magistrate arrived on the scene. The processionists maintained

* If Pts. Govind Ballabh Pant and Jawaharlal Nehru were beaten it was very slight indeed.

before me that they were not taking out a procession, but were merely proceeding in three companies of twelve men each, carrying black flags, and singing songs, to Aminuddaoula Park. I contended that this was clearly a procession, and its formation was such as to attract an ever increasing number of followers as it passed. Crowds were trying to assemble, and demonstrators were arriving from Aminabad. I did not wish to have a fracas in this quarter of the town, in the European trading centre, at the busy time of the evening and I thought it advisable to get the crowds away. I also wished to help the demonstrators to reach their destination as they wished to participate in a public meeting, and was willing to permit the procession in the formation mentioned above which was asked for by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and by the route agreed upon by him and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, namely, Newal Kishore Road and Lal Bagh Road, if the leaders would merely make a verbal request for permission. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru declined to do this, but Pdt. Govind Ballabh Pant said they would not proceed without permission, and they wanted to go. This was so little different from a request for permission that I agreed, and a procession of three groups of twelve was formed and marched off, accompanied by some mounted police. Contrary however to the agreement these companies swelled as they went and did not observe the route settled. The procession stopped quite a long while shouting outside my house and by the time it passed through Aminabad Road it had assumed considerable dimensions, but eventually reached Aminuddaula Park without further incident.

The term "procession" is not defined as far as I know in any legal enactment, but the definition given in the Oxford dictionary is : 'proceeding of a body of persons in orderly succession'. This definition applies completely to small group of twelve in a regular formation proceeding to a common destination by the same route. It is quite different from scattered groups proceeding independently to different destinations and bound together by no common object.

Meanwhile, I had to crystalize the arrangements for the 30th — the day on which the Commission were arriving. Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena had sent no reply to the Superintendent of Police regarding his suggestion that they should be allotted a piece of land near the station. The contents of Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena's letter of the 25th May again be quoted. He asked for a place to hold a black flag demonstration some

where near the route or the station within a resonable distance. Accordingly on the 29th I wrote to him the following letter :

"With reference to your letter No. 276, dated November 26, to me, and your letter No. 275, dated 25th November to the Superintendent of Police. I shall be glad if you will kindly let me know where you wish to demonstrate near the station on the morning of the arrival of the Royal Commission so that I can if possible allot ground for the purpose."

The same evening I received a reply as follows :

"In reply to your letter dated today, I may inform you that we have decided to hold a black flag demonstration tomorrow in the *maidan* behind Mr. A.P. Sen's bungalow facing Station Road. We shall go in a procession from the Congress Office at 6 a.m. via La Touche Road."

In spite of the events of the 28th, I still considered that we should make no change in our policy. It was clearly for the Congress Party to make suggestions as to the land desired by them, since a place had already been offered in general terms, and no reply had been sent to me. This was also necessary because I had already allotted a portion to depressed classes and suggested a portion to the Muhammadans both of whom were anxious for a place, if possible, near the station. I did not wish however to place the Muhammadans too near the demonstrators, as had I done so the prospect of a communal fracas was by no means a remote contingency. On receiving Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena's letter above I replied as follows :

"Your letter of this evening. There is no objection to your procession from the Congress Office via La Touche Road to the *maidan* in front of the station. The actual position on the *maidan* however presents some difficulty. The depressed classes have applied for a position near a tank between A.P. Sen Road and the Station Road, and this was allotted to them several days ago. I propose a place for your demonstration on the same *maidan* in front of the station as indicated in the attached sketch hatched red. The procession will I gather from your letter return by the same route via La Touche Road and I have no objection."

I made the portion of the ground absoloutely clear by sending a sketch map showing the exact place at which the boycotters could hold their demonstration. To this letter I received no reply, but it is

significant of the tactics adopted by Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena and his friends, that at the meeting on the night of the 29th they directed their followers to assemble in the plot of land behind Mr. A.P. Sen's house which I had expressly told them they could not have and which had already been allotted to the depressed classes. About midnight I was informed by some of the latter that Jawahar Lal Nehru and a few others visited them at this place and had tried to induce them to go away. The Pasis were holding a conference and had arranged a dancing party for the night. These people were afraid of Jawahar Lal and asked me for police protection. I said that it was late to send police at that hour of the night as they had to be on duty at five in the morning and suggested that as they were in far larger numbers they could easily make it clear to Jawahar Lal and his friends that their company was not desired at the time and that they had better leave. I had already informed the Superintendent of Police verbally that I had allotted this land to the depressed classes and I explained to him where I had offered land to the demonstrators and told him that they would have to occupy the land I had allotted although they had not sent any reply to my letter.

Orders to the police regarding the reception of the Royal Commission were that admission to the station should be by passes only, signed by the District Magistrate, that the station compound should be entirely closed and that traffic of all kinds should stop at 7.30 a.m. to and from the station. The police were on duty about 5.30 a.m. The depressed classes were in the position allotted to them but the boycott demonstrators who were assembling on the La Touche Road within about 100 yards of the ground allotted, instead of proceeding thither were advancing in small bodies to a position in close proximity to the depressed classes on the route and beyond the police cordon. This was entirely contrary to the terms of the letter issued by me, and was likely to lead to an awkward situation as the police were not in sufficient strength at this point to prevent the demonstrators breaking through and thronging the main Station Road. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and the Secretary, Congress Committee, approached me as I was directing demonstrators to return to the ground allotted to them. They complained that it was not near enough to the route for their purpose. I declined to make any change at that late hour, about 7 a.m. and at the same time the demonstrators rushed in large numbers towards the

depressed classes. Had they succeeded in massing there in large numbers there would undoubtedly have been a most unruly and unseemly demonstration. The active demonstrators largely consisted of students and school boys, and I have no hesitation in saying that they would have broken the cordon, and collected in large numbers on the road, shouting and yelling and impeding the progress of the cars. There was no time to argue the merits of the case. It was a question of the allotted space, or complete disorder. As soon as I could get hold of the Superintendent of Police, I told him what I had said to Jawahar Lal Nehru. The Superintendent of Police said he could easily clear the ground. He gave the demonstrators ten minutes to move. They refused to do so, and accordingly after about quarter of an hour they were moved back by the civil and mounted police to the place allotted. In the process the demonstrators hurled stones and brick bats at the police slightly injuring Mr. Tipson assistant superintendent of police, a Reserve inspector, a Sergeant and several constables. The sergeant and a sowar had nasty injuries and the sergeant had to be taken back to the lines. Some of the demonstrators also received lathi blows. Moving the crowd to the allotted space did not occupy more than ten minutes and as far as is known all the injuries on either side were of a simple nature. The actual occurrence was rather like the clearing of a football ground in England when the crowd have broken loose. There have been gross exaggerations in the press, and Jawahar Lal's report is so ludicrous and over stated as to carry its own refutation. It has been alleged that some of the police threw stones at the demonstrators. If they did so, it was in self-defence and only after they themselves had been stoned. From this time i.e. about 7.30 a.m. there was no further attempt on the part of the demonstrators to leave their station and no attempt was made by the police to check their black flag demonstrations.

The Commission arrived at 8 a.m. and were suitably received by a gathering of officials and non-officials numbering about 250. There was no untoward incident enroute and no personal insult or injury was offered to any member of the Commission — thanks to the action taken by us. Had we not acted as we did, I feel sure we should have seen the Cawnpore behaviour on a larger scale.

The causes of this unrest are primarily the presence of Jawahar Lal Nehru in Lucknow and his action in deliberately inflaming the students

of the University and school boys. Without them little or nothing could have been achieved in Lucknow. The reason why it has been difficult to control the situation and why feeling did not immediately subside after the conflict with the police is that the Hindu community as a whole is in favour of the political boycott of the Simon Commission. Though they dislike the methods adopted by the extremists they have never dissociated themselves from them and indeed have made no attempt to do so. **Lala Lajpat Rai's death happening at this juncture** materially assisted the boycott movement, as black flag demonstrations and meetings of condolence with Lala Lajpat Rai were very cleverly combined by the leaders.

The questions which will arise, seem to me to be as follows : —

- (1) Were we correct in refusing to allow processions in Hazratganj and near the Council Chamber ?

I have given my reasons in the body of this note. I would add that subsequent events more than justify it.

- (2) Had we the legal power to break up the procession on the night of the 28th ?

I have given my reasons for thinking we had, but on this point I would suggest a reference to the Government's legal adviser before the pronouncement is made in Council.

- (3) Should we have held the agitation in check if we had yielded at every turn to the Congress Committee's demands ?

I feel sure that had we done so, we should have been merely pushed into a position when refusal would have been ultimately inevitable as the extremists were determined, if possible, to defy orders. In such circumstances a far more difficult situation would have arisen and one far more difficult to control. Moreover, on general grounds I see no justification for yielding to pressure brought by extremists. I have never done so in Lucknow, though I have always been prepared to listen to suggestions for compromise when put forward by reasonable people.

- (4) Was the ground to be allotted near the station a suitable position for the purpose which the demonstrators had in view ?

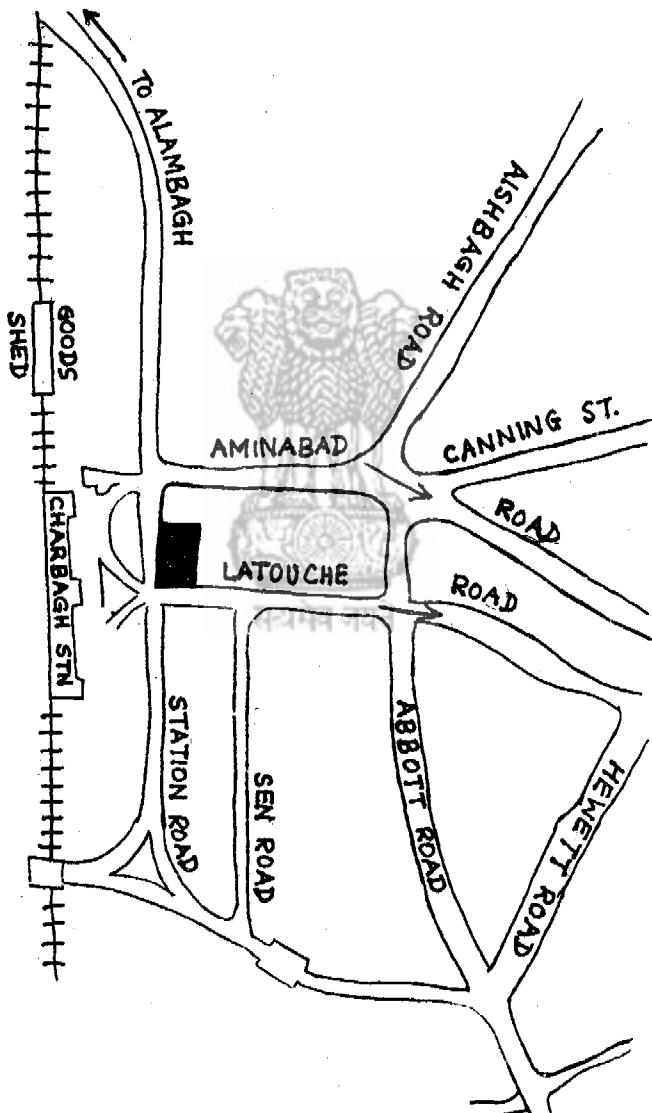
It is opposite the main entrance of the station where the members of the Commission entered their cars. The distance at the utmost was

200 yards. The demonstrators and their flags could be seen comfortably and had they merely wished to let the Commission see them and hear their cries, they had the opportunity for a very fine demonstration. They could not of course subject the Commission to personal insult and humiliation by waving black flags in their very faces and getting on to the footboards of their cars, and impeding their progress, and I think one reason for their annoyance is that their real intention of holding a very ugly demonstration, the consequence of which might have been serious, was frustrated by our actions.

- (5) Was I right in refusing to consider a change of ground on the morning of the 30th ?

Compromise seemed to me at that moment to be out of question. It would have exposed the Commission to very grave risk of personal insult. I had nothing but the word of Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena that their followers would remain quietly behind the police cordon. I had had personal experience on the night before of the value to be attached to such promises. I do not say that such promises are deliberately broken, but merely that men of this stamp have no control over the action of their followers and indeed have no desire to control them when they have aroused feelings of excitement. It would have been criminal folly to have allowed the mob to get out of hand.

SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE PLACE ALLOTTED TO
THE BOYCOTTERS FOR HOLDING DEMONSTRATION
AGAINST THE SIMON COMMISSION AT LUCKNOW.



PRESS COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE U.P.
GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE HAPPENINGS AT
LUCKNOW ON THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 28, 1928.

No. 1667-Z. Press communique begins. As the events which happened at Lucknow on the evening of the 28th instant are likely to be exaggerated, a statement of what actually occurred is issued for general information. Stop. For some time past the local boycott committee has been planning measures to express disapproval of the visit to Lucknow of the Simon Commission. Stop. Processions and *hartal* have been decided on, and as in Lucknow processions of whatever kind are only allowed under a license issued by the Superintendent of Police under Section 30 of the Police Act, the local authorities decided that the same practice must be observed on this occasion also. Stop. Accordingly the organizers were served with general and special notices as required under the law, and have so far applied for licences for their processions. Permits have been granted where there was no objection to the route proposed, and refused where the route was considered unsuitable. Stop. Three rehearsal processions have already been held. Stop. On the morning of the 28th the Secretary of the Boycott Committee asked for a license for a procession that evening along a route suggested by him. Stop. Parts of the route proposed were considered objectionable for a procession of this nature and a permit was not granted, though the applicants were told how near the procession could approach the prohibited route. Stop. In reply the Secretary said the procession was timed to start at 4 p.m. and it was impossible to call it off. Stop. He did not ask for an alternative route. Stop. Accordingly a police force was sent to Aminabad, and the City Magistrate was directed to be present there, with orders not to permit the unlicensed procession to proceed and to disperse it if it attempted to do so. Stop. There was no objection to their holding a demonstration in the park. Stop. At about 5 p.m. the Secretary, Boycott Committee, and others began to arrange a procession with flags. Stop. The City Magistrate informed them that they could not take out a procession as they had no licence. Stop. They asked for a written order. Stop. The City Magistrate held a conference with a number of leaders near the Congress Office. Stop. He told them that they could not be allowed to

take out a procession without a license and gave them an order in writing to that effect. Stop. He received a reply in writing, stating that the leaders could not accede to the orders. Stop. There was further discussion, but eventually an attempt was made to start the procession and the City Magistrate was again informed that the orders would be disobeyed. Stop. The processionists were then ordered to disperse, but in spite of this began to move on and accordingly the City Magistrate directed the police to disperse them. Stop. Three A.S.P.s with about ten mounted police then advanced and blocked the passage of the procession. Stop. The processionists however continued to press forward. Stop. Both the processionists and the crowd watching had begun at this stage to throw stones at the police and hit at them with the bamboos on which flags were carried. Stop. The crowd refused to move back and the processionists attempted to cross the railing of the park with the apparent intention of slipping round to the other side of the police force. Stop. The mounted police then, and then only, used their sticks, and no more force than was absolutely necessary to disperse the crowd was employed. Stop. A few men in the crowd received bruises on the arms and one Sub Inspector was hit in the face with a stone; an A.S.P. was also hit on the helmet. Stop. As soon as it was seen that the authorities were determined to check the procession, it broke up and a protest meeting was held in the park. Stop. The policy of the authorities has been to allow reasonable facilities for these anti-Commission processions and demonstrations subject to the observance of orders regulating them, and this continues to be their policy.

DEMONSTRATION BY STUDENTS

12. C. W. GWYNNE, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW, TO
JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.
 DATED NOVEMBER 30, 1928.

As requested by you I send you a narrative of the events of the last three days. I will expand it later for your use in the Secretariat, but send it in its present form as at any rate the basis of your Communiqué.

I consider that we behaved with patience and restraint and that the conduct of the police was admirable.

We are dealing with two or three people on whose word no reliance can be placed. Even so we compromised to the extreme limit as yesterday evening. This morning compromise was absolutely impossible.

I consider the root cause of our difficulty here to have been Jawahar Lal's incitement of the University students Students and school boys have been prominent in the demonstrations on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. This morning the bulk of the demonstrators with black flags were students and even now they are out of hand and more or less on strike. The University appear to have absolutely no control over them.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE U.P. GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE HAPPENINGS OF NOVEMBER 29 & 30, 1928

A press communique dealing with the incidents of November 28 has already been issued. This communique deals with the incidents of November 29 and the morning of November 30.

At about 3 p.m. on November 29 information was received that the Congress workers in Narhai were organizing a procession from Narhai to Aminuddoulah Park. No license has been applied for, and no intimation given. The authorities on ascertaining what was afoot intimated that the procession could not be taken out unless a license was obtained and mounted police were brought to the spot. In spite of this warning, a procession started off. The mounted police barred its passage, and had to use force to stop it. Several persons received slight injuries. Shortly afterwards the District Magistrate and City Magistrate appeared on the scene. The processionists maintained that they were not taking out a procession, but were merely proceeding in 3 companies of 12 men each, carrying black flags and singing songs, to Aminuddoula Park. The District Magistrate held that this was clearly a procession, and its formation was such as to attract an ever-increasing number of followers as it passed. Even so he wished to help the demonstrators to reach their destination. After some discussion with the leaders the District Magistrate agreed to permit it the procession in the formation mentioned above along a route to which the leaders agreed. The procession of three groups of 12 was formed and marched off,

accompanied by some mounted police. Contrary however to the agreement these companies reinforced in numbers as they proceeded, failed to follow the route settled. The procession stopped quite a long while shouting at different places on route, by the time it passed through Aminabad Road it had assumed considerable dimensions but reached destination without further incident.

At this juncture necessary to revert for a moment to the discussions which had taken place between the Secretary, Congress Committee, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police. The Secretary, Congress Committee on the 25th of November wrote asking, *inter alia*, what restrictions if any it was intended to impose on the day the Commission arrived, and said that his Committee was willing to observe any reasonable orders to regulate traffic so long as they were allowed to hold a black flag demonstration somewhere near the station within a reasonable distance. He was informed that the policy of the local authorities had all along been to allow processions and a demonstration, provided the Congress Committee followed the rules and regulations on the subject of processions enforced for some years in Lucknow for all communities in the interests of law and order. This was communicated to the Secretary by the superintendent of Police who also suggested that land might be allotted to the Committee opposite the Railway Station for purposes of demonstration on the day of the Commission's arrival. Further correspondence followed in which the Congress Committee stated that they welcomed this attitude and desired a perfectly peaceful demonstration; up to the 29th however they had not replied to the suggestion put to them regarding the reservation of a plot of land near the Railway Station. In spite of the incidents connected with the procession of the 28th, the District Magistrate wrote on the 29th of November to the Secretary, Congress Committee, asking where they wished to demonstrate near the station in order that he might allot ground for the purpose. The Secretary replied that he wished for an area of ground between A.P. Sen Road and the Station Road and that they proposed to proceed there in procession by the La Touche Road from the Congress Office. The District Magistrate replied that he had no objection to the route proposed for the procession, but that the ground in question had already been allotted to the members of the depressed classes who had submitted an earlier application. He said

they could have a piece of open ground exactly opposite the entrance of the railway station at the junction of La Touche Road with Station Road. To this the Secretary sent no reply.

On the morning of the 30th the police were on duty at 5.30 a.m. The members of the depressed classes were in the position allotted to them, but the boycott demonstrators, who were assembling on the La Touche Road within about 100 yards of the place allotted to them, instead of proceeding thither, were advancing in small bodies to a position in close proximity to the depressed classes on the route and beyond the police cordon. This was contrary to the terms of the letter issued by the District Magistrate, and was likely to lead to an awkward situation as the police on duty there were not in sufficient strength to prevent the demonstrators breaking through and thronging the main Station Road. Members of the Congress Committee approached the District Magistrate as he was directing the demonstrators to return to the ground allotted to them, and complained that it was not near enough to the route. The District Magistrate said he was unable to make any change at that late hour, viz. about 7 a.m., the Commission being due to arrive at 8 a.m. and the demonstrators were given ten minutes by the Superintendent of Police within which to move to the space allotted. They refused to do so and accordingly after about a quarter of an hour were moved back by the foot and mounted police. In the process the demonstrators hurled stones and brick bats at the Police, slightly injuring the Assistant Superintendent of Police, the Reserve Inspector, a sergeant, and several constables. The sergeant and a sowar had somewhat severe injuries and the sergeant had to be taken back to the lines. Some of the demonstrators also received lathi blows. Moving the crowd to the allotted place did not occupy more than ten minutes, and as far as is known the injuries on either side, other than those mentioned, were of a simple nature. From this time, namely about 7.30 a.m. there was no attempt on the part of the boycotters to leave their position, and no attempt on the part of the police to check the black flag demonstrations.

THROWING OF STONES BY THE POLICE ON THE DEMONSTRATORS

AHMAD SAID, HOME MEMBER, U.P. GOVERNMENT TO
JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,
DATED, NOVEMBER 30, 1928.

Pandit Venkatesh Narain Tiwari telephoned to me just now saying that he himself saw the police throwing bricks at the mob somewhere near the station. I should be obliged if you will find out from the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner what the true facts are.

POLICE POSTING NEAR THE RESIDENCE OF MAHARAJA OF MAHMUDABAD

MOHAMED ALI MOHAMED, MAHARAJA OF MAHMUDABAD,
TO JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,
DATED DECEMBER 5, 1928.

Today the same insult has been repeated. A police force has been lined near the wall of the house, as if the inmates of the house being guarded, leaving the thoroughfare without a single police.

You yourself will see the thing when you attend the party. The invidious distinction between my house and Salempur house so far as the guarding is concerned is notable.

I know well what it means. I only draw your attention because you are the Chief Secretary.

DEPARTMENTAL INQUIRY IN REGARD TO THROWING OF STONES BY THE POLICE

**JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P., TO
R.J.S. DODD, INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE, U.P.,
LUCKNOW
DATED, DECEMBER 6, 1928.**

I am desired to ask you to make a full departmental inquiry in regard to the throwing of stones by the police on the demonstrators near the Railway station on the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission, namely November 30. I am to ask you to report the result of your inquiry to Government, with as little delay as possible, before taking any further action in the matter.

GARDEN PARTY GIVEN BY TALUKDARS AT KAISERBAGH, LUCKNOW DECEMBER 5, 1928

**REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATING OFFICER — SYED HUSAIN
AND REMARKS BY P.D. SINGH, KOTWAL,
DATED DECEMBER 11, 1928 ON F.I.R. LODGED ON
DECEMBER 5, 1928.**

Concluding Report of Investigating Officer : —

The following are the facts concerning this case : That before the arrival of the Statutory Commission, the Congress Party under the lead of Mohan Lal Saksena, Harish Chandra Bajpai, Rahas Behari Tewari, Pestonji, was making preparations for the boycott and demonstrate against the Simon Commission. In the meantime the boycotters were reinforced by the arrival of outside agitators such as Pdt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Ptd. Gobind Ballabh Pant and the whole energy of the boycotters was concentrated on the attempt to vociferously demons-

trate against the Commission at close quarters at any cost. This very attempt they made opposite the Lucknow railway junction on 30-11-28 in which they failed. After that they had made up their mind to do it again on some other occasions and specially on the 5th December, when a Garden Party was to be given in honour of the Commission by the Taluqdars of Oudh at Kaiserbagh. They first tried to assemble on the plot lying adjacent to Oriental building and there to demonstrate. But on failure to obtain permission from the owner, they left the spot. Their leaders, i.e. Mohan Lal Saxena, Rahas Behari Tewari, Raj Ram, Harish Chandra Bajpai, Shiva Manohar, the Editor of the Anand, Gauri Shankar of Allahabad, Harkaran Nath Misra and Raja Sahib Kalakankar also reached the spot in order to convene a boycott meeting, but for the reason stated above some of them went away and others, viz. Bajpai, Gauri Shanker, Raja Kalakankar, and the editor of the Anand remained there. After that they tried to demonstrate from inside the building occupied by the United Provinces Motor Car Co. and also in the shop of Tulsi Ram Jia Ram Petrol agent, but an account of the police they could not do so and at about 4 p.m. they scattered and took to various directions.

The house of Babu Basdeo Lal Vakil and his cousin Prag Dass Vakil is situated in the north-west corner of Kaiserbagh at about 125 paces from Butler Park. The outer house on the southern side is occupied by Jagannath and Kedar Nath, students of 4th year class, Canning College, and Tek Lal of class X, Harish Chandra High School, Sudder Bazar. Round these out-houses runs a wall about 4 feet high and has three entrances. At about 4.45 p.m. the boycotters about 40 in number entered the compound of the above-mentioned place; some got to the roof by means of the boundary wall while others remained below, in the compound and from there they began to wave their black flags and shout "Simon Go Back". On hearing the noise and also apprehending some greater mischief at the hands of the persons within the compound, Mr. Gregg — the Reserve Inspector and Mr. Cartland — A.S.P. proceeded in that direction with a force of constables. The persons on the roof and in the compound began to throw brickbats which caused injuries to the police and the officers had to order for their arrest. Some of them fled away. The police having arrested 19 persons, sent them to Alambagh and Hasanganj police stations where they were afterwards released on their executing personal bonds. A ladder, some flags, and a lot of bamboos were also found scattered here and there. The City

Magistrate had also arrived at the scene and was hailed by a brickbat. Mr. Gregg sent a written report and a case under Sec. 147, 332 and 336 was registered and investigations proceeded with. Mr. Gregg and 6 other police men had received injuries which on medical examination were found to be simple hurts.

Pdt. Gauri Shanker Misra and Sarish Chandra Shukla accused went away to Allahabad and Mata Pershad accused to Sultanpur, while Harish Chandra, Badri Bisal, L. Bans Raj, Shiva Manohar, Ram Chandra Debey, Jagan Nath Shukla, Banwari Lal and Partab Shankar accused refused to give their statements to the police. Jagan Nath, Kedar Nath (students) and Parag Dass pleaded not guilty and said that they lived in that very house and the police had arrested them under mistake. Parag Dass also said that he had not obstructed while the police were making, but he had simply told the police regarding the occupants of the house that they were not the rioters and resided in this very house which seems natural. Mohamad Hashim and Mohamad Nasim aged 8 years and Santoo Barber also pleaded not guilty and said that as they lived close by the scene of occurrence the police had arrested them by mistake. In their defence these accused persons produced certain witnesses who corroborated the statements of the accused. One Prakash aged about 16 years and Shivaji Malvi aged about 11 years also pleaded not guilty and said that they had walked along the Neill Road to enjoy the fun and reached the corner leading into Kaiserbagh when the arrests were being made and hence the police arrested them by mistake. On enquiry they were found to be unconnected with the boycott party. In my opinion the offence is not fully proved against them and the benefit of doubt be given to Mohamad Hashim, Mohamad Nasim, Santoo Barber, Shivaji Malvi, Om Prakash and Parag Dass, and Pratab Shankar aged about 11 years being of tender age is incapable of understanding the nature of the affair and therefore I let them go.

Their bonds may be cancelled. Jagannath and Kedar Nath though they do not plead guilty, yet the facts lead to the other conclusion. Badri Bisal accused of Narhai is their class fellow, and Tek Lal their mate is a student of Harish Chandra High School of which Ramchandra accused of Narhai is also a student. Most probably it was with the intrigue and help of these students that his house was selected to be used for demonstration purposes and they too participated in it.

In the course of investigation this was also revealed that the accused entered the house without permission in spite of their assertions to the contrary. Prag Dass emphatically denies having given any permission. Basdeo Lal was seriously ill at that time so much so that he could not even talk properly and his servant Debi Din and Baldeo Prasad stated that when the demonstrators entered the compound and began to climb up the roof Debi Din ran to Basdeo Lal to intimate to him that the demonstrators had entered the house and were climbing up the roof, whereupon he ordered him to turn them out.

The rest belong to the boycott party and take much interest in this connection, and from the evidence of the complainant, the City Magistrate, other police officers and men who got injuries and other eye - witnesses such as Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan of Malihabad, the offence against the accused named below is proved and they are challaned under Sections 147, 332, and 336 I.P.C.

It is submitted that a date may be fixed for the hearing of the prosecution evidence and the accused may kindly be summoned.

Names of the accused :

1. Pdt. Gauri Shankar of Allahabad
2. Pdt. Harish Chander Bajpai
3. Sarish Chander Shukul of Allahabad
4. Badri Bisal
5. Kedar Nath Gupta
6. Lal Bans Raj
7. Sheo Manohar
8. Ram Chander Dubey
9. Jagannath Shukul
10. Jagannath Pershad
11. Mata Pershad
12. Banwari Lal

सत्यमव जयते

REMARKS BY THE KOTWAL

Submitted for kind perusal and orders.

The above persons were first arrested under Sec. 151 Cr. P.C. They were designing and collecting to commit a cognizable offence and subsequently the whole party became an unlawful assembly and committed cognizable offences with which they have been charged. The

police interposed under Sec. 149 Cr. P.C. at first as experience on two previous occasions showed that the persons collected for demonstration would become an unlawful body and commit cognizable offences. Both the owners of the house had no legal right to give permission for such acts which were sure to result in the commission of cognizable offences. They were bound by law to give information to a public servant of such an assembly inside their houses. I am of opinion that they committed an offence under Sec. 176 I.P.C. and should be dealt with separately.

NOTE BY C.R. PETERS, SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
LUCKNOW, ADDRESSED TO THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER,
LUCKNOW, DATED, DECEMBER 11, 1928.

The above is the finding of the Station Officer, Hazratganj, after his inquiry into the occurrence which took place at the Garden Party in Kaiserbagh on the 5th December, 1928.

I accompanied His Excellency to the Garden Party and then returned to Government House to bring Miss Hailey who was coming alone. As I reached the gate where visitors alighted from their motors Captain Neilson, A.D.C. came up to receive Miss Hailey and said to me

"There is a row going on over in that corner." I saw there were a number of men standing on a roof in the north corner of the Kaiserbagh and heard a noise of shouting coming from that direction. I at once went to the spot in my car and saw a number of men standing on the roof shouting and a number more inside the compound. Realizing that if they were not stopped at once the disturbance would increase in magnitude and be difficult to check as already a large crowd had gathered at the Neill Road and more were pouring down the road at the back of the compound of the house on which the shouters were standing, I shouted "pakro" to the police who were hesitating not knowing quite what to do.

The police cordon had apparently challenged the men and had received brickbats in return. When I said "pakro", a large number of reserves which were stationed behind the old Council Chamber dashed forward and proceeded to arrest the demonstrators, I do not then know at what stage brickbats had been thrown by them, but sometime after, the City Magistrate appeared from inside the compound with one in his

hand which had apparently been thrown at him after my arrival.

Section 149 Cr. P.C. states that "Every Police Officer may interpose for the purpose of preventing, and shall to the best of his ability, prevent, the commission of any cognizable offence." The police had the happening of the morning of the 30th, followed by what happened in Cawnpore, fresh in their memory. There is to my mind not the slightest doubt that this gathering of 40 or 50 people would undoubtedly have committed a cognizable offence had the police not interposed. There was a large number of rabble in the lane behind the house and many more on the Neill Road merely waiting for a chance to join up with the demonstrators which they undoubtedly would have done had the police not interposed. From previous experience it is certain that brickbat throwing and other breaches of the peace would undoubtedly have occurred ; the assembly would have become an unlawful one and would have committed offences which such uncontrolled mobs habitually do commit. I consider under this section the police were perfectly justified in the action they took. Moreover in the notice which was sent to the students of the Lucknow University, inviting them to attend a meeting to be held at 3 p.m. on the ground left of the building of the Oriental Life Insurance Company, near the gate of Nakti ka Imambara, it is stated "N.B. It is expected that Simon Commission will pass through that road while going to attend the farmers' blood feast given by the Barons of Oudh at Kaiserbagh Baradari". The demonstrators were frustrated in their attempt to hold a meeting in Hazratganj but managed to get into the house of Basdeo Lal and Prag Dass at the corner of Kaiserbagh. From the paragraph above quoted it may be inferred that the intentions of the meeting were not exactly amicable.

Moreover the demonstrators had previously announced their intention of protesting against the Simon Commission at the Garden Party, and the Kotwal saw certain people who had been prominent in previous demonstrations which had resulted in brickbats throwing, loitering round about Kaiserbagh, about the time of the Garden Party, one youth in particular, who it is certain offered a revolver to Pdt. Jawahar Lal Nehru on the morning of the 30th and had taken a prominent part in all meetings, was also seen by the Kotwal trying to get inside the Kaiserbagh but was turned out by his orders. From these facts

I consider it reasonable that the police were right in assuming that the demonstrators had designs to commit a cognizable offence whether it be breaking the peace by an unlawful assembly or merely an offence under Sec. 336 I.P.C. As such they were within their powers to arrest the demonstrators under Section 151 Cr. P.C.

The question of an offence under Sec. 452 I.P.C. has not been considered as of the two owners of the house, namely Basdeo Lal and Prag Dass Bhargava, only the latter has stated in writing that the demonstrators forcibly entered without his permission or knowledge. The other owner — Babu Basdeo Lal Vakil is about 80 years of age and suffering from paralysis and was unable to speak when examined by the Kotwal and by the investigating officer. From the statement of his syce who lives in the compound it appears that he also when told that the mob had forcibly entered the compound ordered them to be ejected. From what has appeared in the Press and has been stated in public meetings, it appears that this old man is now alleged to have stated that he actually allowed the demonstrators to use his house with his permission.

The investigating officer has found the offences under sections 147, 332, 336, I.P.C. proved against 12 out of 19 accused arrested.

As however a question of policy may be involved in this prosecution I am sending the papers to you to forward through the proper channel for orders.

REPORT OF THE HAPPENINGS DURING THE GARDEN PARTY AT KAISERBAGH, LUCKNOW

C.W. GWYNNE, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW, TO
W.S. CASSELS, COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW,
DATED, DECEMBER 5, 1928.

The Garden Party passed off without any demonstrations except a very minor one within Kaiser Bagh. It has been a very trying day for us as we had so many conflicting reports as to what the demonstrators intended to do. These reports are as follows :

- (a) The demonstrators would form a procession with women at the front and would try to force their way into Kaiser Bagh.
- (b) They would attempt a kite - flying demonstration. (This they did try, but it was a hopeless failure).
- (c) There were to be mohalla meetings at 3 o'clock and a monster meeting at Aminabad at 5. The Narhai people were to meet on a plot of land by the Oriental Insurance Company. This was tried but the actual rendezvous was the Kankar Kothi. A few people attempted to meet here, but I directed that although this was private property, it must be treated as an unoccupied house which would serve as a point of vantage to the demonstrators, and no crowd must be allowed to assemble there. I had no time to get any confirmation of this direction and I take full responsibility for it. There was no doubt that the students had intended to go there in considerable numbers and to carry on from there a hostile demonstration. A circular was issued during the day to this effect. I will send you a copy as soon as I can.
- (d) The demonstrators would gather together in small numbers at many points en route and all round Kaiser Bagh in order to show placards bearing the design "SIMON GO BACK". A number of these were hastily prepared this morning. We took every precaution possible as regards lining the route, stationing a police cordon, holding considerable forces in reserve at strategic points. I was informed that the demonstrators were more or less demoralized and there were signs of an absence of organization. The plan which they actually adopted was to get on to the roof of Basdeo Lal's house in the far corner of Kaiser Bagh between Neill Road and the Maharaja of Mahmudabad's quarters. About 60 of them had managed to get there. I believe they got there in the morning and were concealed somewhere in the premises while the police were being posted this afternoon. They had ladders and a large number of long bamboo sticks. Whether they had the consent of the owner of the house, I cannot say, but I think it probable that they had not. Quite a number of them were arrested and the sticks taken possession of. Two lorry loads of demonstrators were sent over to the thana. They were led by one Gauri Shanker of Allahabad who appears to have sustained very slight

injuries while he was being arrested. I saw no violence used as I was at the spot most of the time. It was impossible to allow them to remain at the spot. Had we done so large crowds would have gathered together. They had to be removed at once. In my opinion they are probably guilty of the offence of house - breaking by day. If the owner of the house says he gave permission, they can of course be discharged.

2. This afternoon about 2 o'clock I received a complaint from the Maharaja of Mahmudabad that the police were posted close to his quarters contrary to an agreement which I made with him. I told him the other night that if we had occasion to send a reserve force to Kaisar Bagh to be kept out of sight, we would not post it very near his house, but today's arrangement was quite different. It was merely the police cordon right round Kaisar Bagh and had nothing to do with any particular house owner. I asked Peters to try and arrange that the police were so posted that no inconvenience was caused to the Maharaja and Peters himself went down to the place. He found that any substantial change was impossible owing to the necessity to keep the open space between Kaisar Bagh and the Butler Park absolutely clear of spectators. Later on, a slight interruption occurred from this very side of Kaisar Bagh and I feel that had we yielded the ground in front of the Maharaja's house would have been used by the demonstrators who would thus have been in very close proximity to the Garden Party. I do not suggest for a moment that the Maharaja was aware of this but I feel convinced that they would have taken advantage of the open land in front of his house, had they an opportunity. I cannot acquit the Maharaja's Private Secretary of complicity in the designs of the Congress Committee and I feel that our action actually saved the Maharaja from a very difficult situation. Syed-ul-Rahman has been prominent at the demonstrations and in discussions of the Boycott Congress Committee. I think it would be advisable for you to let H.E. - have this report as early as possible as I am afraid this altogether trifling incident will be magnified a thousand fold.

C.W. GWYNNE, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW, TO
THE COMMISSIONER, LUCKNOW, DATED, DECEMBER 6,
1928.

I have the honour to submit my report on the events of yesterday. I have already addressed several D.O. communications to you, but as I am in a position to give a more connected account of what happened and to explain more clearly certain matters which were still in doubt when I wrote yesterday, I feel that this report is necessary.

2. It was known that the Boycott Committee would make strenuous endeavours to secure a public demonstration on the occasion of the Taluqdars' Garden Party and the success which attended their arrangements in Cawnpore, considerably encouraged them. (Various schemes were put forward such as (a) bringing a procession to Kaiser Bagh led by women ; (b) flying kites in large numbers with the intention that they should drop in the Butler Park where the party was held. The kites were black with the usual inscription ; (c) to demonstrate in groups en route ; (d) to hold mohalla meetings at 3 in the afternoon and proceed thence to Amin-ud-daula Park where a monster meeting was to be held at 5 p.m. The Narhai mohalla meeting was to take place on the land near the Oriental Insurance Company's Office.)
3. The first plan was abandoned but the other four schemes were tried. (I arranged with the police in the morning that no assembly should be allowed to collect on any open space on Hazratganj,) but that persons should be kept on the move. This would prevent the demonstrators from gathering at any point in strength and would do away with the necessity of dispersing an assembly at a later stage. Actually, finding it was impossible to assemble on this plot of land, an attempt was made to collect in the Kankar Kothi, an empty house just opposite. We could not allow a demonstration from this point either — it was on the route and it seems clear that the students had intended to assemble in large numbers. The Raja of Kalakankar was running about in the morning making arrangements. I attach a copy of a notice which was circulated at the University and which was placed on the notice board of the

Canning College. The grounds of the Kankar Kothi were accordingly cleared. Not more than 50 people had assembled there when this was done, at about 2 o'clock p.m. (It appears that finding themselves deprived of the opportunity of demonstrating in Hazratganj, the device was adopted of occupying the out-houses and house of Babu Basdeo Lal in Kaiserbagh. The demonstrators were taken there in cars and let in from the back. The leader of this batch was Gauri Shankar Misra of Allahabad and with him were Harkaran Nath Misra and Babu Mohan Lal Saksena. Another batch led by Chowdhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman had occupied the house in which Mr. Mahabir Prasad Varma lives. They were in charge of the kite-flying demonstration which was a miserable failure.) One kite only was seen and later after the departure of the Commission a balloon was discovered hovering over one corner of Kaiser Bagh. There was no demonstration of any kind while the guests were arriving. The party was in full swing when the demonstration from the roof of Mr. Basdeo Lal's house began. The police at once proceeded to the spot and arrested a number of demonstrators. I enclose Mr. Cartland's report of what was actually done. He was in charge of the police at this section. I arrived on the scene at once and directed that the persons arrested should be removed by police lorries to the thanas. They were arrested under Section 151 Cr. P.C. and were released the same evening on their proposal recognizance. (The reports that the Zenana quarters were invaded and that stones were thrown into the Zenana quarters by the police is absolutely untrue as Mr. Cartland's report clearly shows.) No one was rough handled and no violence was used by the police beyond that force required to effect the arrest of the pardons concerned. The demonstrators on the other hand were guilty of throwing brickbats at the police. Six constables and Reserve Insp. Greig received injuries. Dr. Modi has reported that they have simple injuries caused by a blunt weapon and brickbats. Had this action not been taken I am convinced that there was every likelihood of a very ugly demonstration. Crowds would have assembled at the back of the house and the demonstrators would have received encouragement. I take full responsibility both for clearing the Kan̄kar Kothi of the demonstrators earlier in the afternoon and for arresting the demonstrators at the house in Kaiser Bagh during the party.

BANDE MATRAM

NOTICE BY A STUDENT OF NARHAI NOTICE

The Students of Lucknow University are hereby informed that a public meeting will be held at about 5 p.m. on the ground left to the building of Oriental Life Assurance Company near the gate of Nakki ka Imambara, Hazratganj, whence we will go to join the great meeting of Lucknow citizens to be held at 5 p.m. in Amin-ud-daula Park. In both these meetings prominent leaders are expected to deliver lectures. I hope that you will come in great number and make the meeting successful.

N.B. It is expected that Simon Commission will pass through that road while going to attend the farmers' blood feast given by the Barons of Oudh at Kaiser Bagh Baradari.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL REGARDING THE VISIT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION IN U.P.

JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P., TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI, DATED, DECEMBER 20, 1928.

In continuation of my letter No. 1739-Z, dated December 11, 1928, and with reference to your telegram No. 2862-S, dated December 18, I

1. Report from the Commissioner of Agra,
dated December 13, 1928.
2. Report from the Superintendent of Police,
Cawnpore, dated December 7, 1928.
3. Report from the Deputy Commissioner,
Lucknow, dated December 6, 1928.

am directed to forward copies of the marginally noted reports which explain themselves, and to add the following observations : —

2. The Governor in Council's conclusions on the events connected with the visit of the Simon Commission to this province are as below :

The Musalmans, with a few exceptions, were opposed to the boycott of the Commission. Among Hindus, the advanced politicians were generally in favour of the boycott, but there was an influential section which was opposed to hostile demonstrations and *hartals*. The untimely death of Lala Lajpat Rai gave the more extreme politicians an opportunity of rousing feeling, specially among the students. Their leaders concentrated their efforts on Lucknow where the Commission were to make a prolonged stay, and it became soon evident that a section of these leaders were in favour of disobeying all police regulations. This influence became predominant with the arrival of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in Lucknow on November 24. Previous to his arrival he had made an inflammatory appeal to the local students with considerable effect. (The alternatives before the authorities were then either to allow the demonstrators complete freedom to demonstrate when and where they liked, or to regulate processions by means of licences, as has been the invariable practice in connexion with all processions in Lucknow for many years.) The Governor in Council is confirmed in his opinion by what happened subsequently at Cawnpore that the action taken at Lucknow was fully justified. (The demonstrators were given reasonable facilities to demonstrate, subject to certain necessary restrictions. Once orders had been promulgated it was impossible for the authorities to allow them to be disobeyed at the will of the demonstrators. The police and the local authorities showed great patience and forbearance in the face of constant provocation, and where conflicts took place between the demonstrators and the police, they were due to the deliberate disobedience of reasonable orders.)

3. At Cawnpore the authorities were misled by the assurances given by certain leaders regarding the scale and manner of the demonstrations. The most serious of the incidents was the throwing of

stones at the Commission's cars by students from the compound of the Agricultural College. It was unfortunate that the crowds were not kept at a distance, as at Lucknow, and that large collections of men were allowed to come up to the curbs of the main roads through which the Commission passed, with the result that there was an unpleasant demonstration. The fact that some cars were hit on the roof with sticks and that stones were thrown at them proves beyond doubt that the action taken at Lucknow was necessary, and is a sufficient answer to contentions that crowds can be trusted not to commit violence provided they are not subjected to police control.

A preliminary inquiry has been made into the conduct of the students of the Agricultural College. A further inquiry will be made by the Director of Agriculture with a view to suitable action against the offenders.

4. As regards the motion for adjournment of December 13, which was carried without a division, I am to offer the following comments :

Among those, who had come into conflict with the police at Lucknow, were Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, M.L.C., leader of the Swaraj Party in the Council, Pandit Rahas Behari Tewari, M.L.C., a member of the Nationalist Party, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul and Mr. Andrews Dube, the latter two of the Servants of India Society. Further, on the occasion of the Taluqdars' garden party (in the Kaiserbagh on December 5) a cordon of police had to be placed round the Kaiserbagh in front of the houses in the quadrangle which includes the residence of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad. The Maharaja's house was not singled out for special treatment; the disposition of the police was made to prevent unseemly demonstrations in the Kaiserbagh itself. Subsequent events show that the placing of a strong police cordon was justified. This location of the police was deliberately misconstrued and the incidents connected with the removal of certain demonstrators from a house close to the Maharaja's were grossly exaggerated. A public meeting was held at Lucknow on December 9, in which the action of the authorities was condemned. There was also a violent press campaign. When the Council met a week after these events, there was much excitement. The motion to adjourn the House was moved by Mr. Chintamani. He and his supporters

contended that respectable Indians, no matter who they were, were assaulted and insulted merely because they were Indians and because they had opposed a purely white Commission. Much stress was laid on the alleged insult to the Maharaja of Mahmudabad. This was chiefly designed to secure the sympathy of the Muslim members. The attendance of Government's stauncher supporters was poor, as many members were busy elsewhere chiefly with elections to local bodies. Many non-officials, who often support Government, felt that if they opposed the adjournment motion, they would be pilloried in the press and in their constituencies as approving of police assaults on prominent and patriotic Indians. The racial issue was prominent throughout. Government realized the difficulties of its non-official supporters and did not wish to place them in a difficult position. A division would not have secured a favourable result. It was explained to the House that all reasonable facilities had been given to the demonstrators and that the collisions between the police and the crowds followed only on the disobedience of orders of regulation.

The Council had been expressly summoned to deal with the Land Revenue (Settlement) Bill. The chances of this Bill would have been jeopardized by any exacerbation of feeling, exacerbation would have followed on brisk canvassing and the demand for a division. Even then the motion would have been carried. It is now practically certain that the Revenue Bill will be adopted.

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POLICE EXCESSES DURING THE VISIT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION DISCUSSED IN THE U.P. COUNCIL

RESOLUTION OF A.P. DUBE

**NOTE FROM JAGDISH PRASAD, CHIEF SECRETARY, U.P.,
DATED, JANUARY 16, 1929**

Mr. A.P. Dube wishes to move the following resolution on January 30 : —

“That this Council recommends to the Governor in Council to lose no time in imposing adequate punishment upon the officials responsible for the police assaults and other excesses of Novr. 28, 29 and 30 and December 5 at Lucknow in connexion with the Simon Commission visit.”

ADJOURNMENT MOTION MOVED BY C.Y. CHINTAMANI

**NOTE BY JAGDISH PRASAD TO THE LEGAL
REMEMBRANCER, U.P., DATED, JANUARY 17, 1929**

On December 13 Mr. Chintamani gave notice of his intention to move for the adjournment of the business of the Council for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the police assaults on peaceful citizens of Lucknow on November 28, 29, 30 and December 5, and the attitude of the Government in respect thereof. The motion was discussed the same day at 4 o'clock and was carried by the House.

SIMON COMMISSION IN KANPUR DECEMBER 3, 1928

REPORT OF R.N. MARSH - SMITH, SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, KANPUR, DATED, DECEMBER 7, 1928.

1. The visit was an informal one and was more by way of sight-seeing. The Commission was to arrive at the Ganges Bridge at 10.30 a.m. in motor cars and to proceed from there to the Chamber of Commerce, where members were to be introduced to certain of the European commercial community. They were to visit the Cawnpore Woollen Mills, the Muir Mill and Messrs. Cooper Allens Leather Works in parties. After this they were to lunch at certain private houses, and after lunch to visit the Mutiny sights at the Memorial Church, Massacre Ghat and the Memorial Well. From the last named they were to proceed to attend a Garden Party given by Mr. J.P. Srivastava at the Retreat, Nawabgunj and, on the way to make a visit to the McRobertgunj Settlement belonging to the British Indian Corporation. After the Garden Party they were to leave by the Bombay Mail from Cawnpore City Station at 5.30 p.m.
The whole of this programme was carried out in full without any important hitch.
2. Prior to the arrival of the Commission efforts, as elsewhere, were made to organise demonstrations against it. But for the untimely death of Lala Lajpat Rai these efforts would have fallen completely flat, and once again but for the incidents at Lucknow even then would have been but a very minor success. Prior to the eve of the visit, except one or two meetings, no demonstrations by way of processions etc. were organised. On the evening before the visit, however, a procession consisting at the most 600 to 700 persons paraded in the city, and down the Mall. This procession undoubtedly impeded traffic though it did not really attempt to interfere with it other than endeavouring to make all traffic keeping to the extreme left of the road. The attitude of certain of the elements forming this procession was however distinctly hostile.

Prior to this procession the idea of the District Authorities was that it would not be necessary to apply for extra assistance. The temper of the members of this procession, however, was indicative of a possible hostile intention the next day.

In consequence of this, and after consultation with the Commissioner of the Division, it was decided to apply for assistance from the Inspector General of Police at Lucknow and 150 men were asked for. These arrived by the 8.30 train in the morning and were of great assistance, providing us with the necessary reserve.

3. Meanwhile, however, some of the influential persons of the boycott party had approached the Superintendent of Police through the Kotwal with a view to come to some arrangement for organizing the demonstrations. With the concurrence of the District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police arranged for demonstrations to be held, in the morning at the time of arrival, near the Queen's Park, and in the afternoon at the time of the visit to Nawabgunj, at the Ram Lila Ground and at the gate of the Agricultural Gardens. Conditions incident to permission for those demonstrations to be allowed were first that the demonstrators would be in place half an hour before the time of the arrival of the Commission, secondly that no independent bodies of boycotters would parade about the Civil Lines, and thirdly that no interference should be made with the traffic in any way and that persons attending the Garden Party were not to be interfered with at all ; these conditions were observed almost 'in toto' by the leaders of the boycotters.
4. It was considered advisable, in order to avoid the possibility of bomb-throwing or of the Commission being mobbed by any uncontrolled crowd, to endeavour to keep the demonstrators at a distance of 15 yards from the road ; it was at first thought that this object would be best served in the Queen's Park but on the morning of the 3rd it was found that there were a large number of bricks and other material which could be used as missiles, and therefore it was suggested to the leaders of the demonstrations that they should move across the road to the open space on the opposite side. This request was complied with but the demonstrators eventually came close up to the road. Similarly at the Parade in the evening the

demonstrators insisted on coming on to the very edge of the road. In order to move them back to 15 yards or so from the road it would have been necessary to apply force but this was not considered advisable. This decision was taken by the Superintendent of Police but in doing so he had the concurrence of the District Magistrate.

5. The demonstrators were about 3000 in morning and about 2000 in the afternoon At the first demonstration the procession passed through without incident of importance except that, apparently owing to some engine difficulty, two cars got separated from the rest. The police had information that only three cars were coming from Lucknow and so when five cars had passed (including two cars carrying district officials), the police had not kept the crowd back. Consequently the last two cars were separated from the rest by small distance and in this interval unfortunately a car containing persons carrying black flags slipped into the procession. It ultimately left after about quarter a mile. The occupants of the last car were not actually molested or restrained in any way.
6. There was no incident at the visit of the mills and an effort to cause a strike among the labourers was a complete failure. Similarly the visit to the Mutiny Sights was without any incident and the Commission passed to McRobertgunj. It had to pass through the second demonstration at Parade. With the exception that the same car with persons carrying black flags came about 200 yards ahead and went ahead of it, nothing occurred and the Commission reached the McRobertgunj Settlement.
7. Half of the demonstrators were then taken off by Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi to a public meeting in the city ; the rest thought it a good opportunity to join the third demonstration at Nawabgunj, as they had heard that the Commission had stopped at McRobertgunj on the way.
8. At McRobertgunj it was deemed advisable to move the vehicles carrying persons with black flags away from the procession. The Superintendent of Police ordered the occupants to move on and they complied with this request but meanwhile the demonstrators from the Parade were moving up to Nawabgunj. The Superintendent of Police took the opportunity, while the Commission was visiting the Settlement, to go up and see the situation at Nawabgunj.

Here the crowd on the road had swelled to large numbers and it had become too risky to take the Commission through that way. The Superintendent of Police, therefore, returned to the Commission and was in time to turn it off round a previous route and to bring it up to the Agricultural College gate in time to forestall the arrival of the reinforced demonstrators from the Ram Lila ground. The Commission passed through this third demonstration again without incident, and went on into the Agricultural Gardens. None of the public had made any attempt to get into the Garden and the Commission reached the grounds of the Agricultural College. Here at the point where the road to the Retreat leaves the College grounds the students had lined either side of the road and as the Commission passed, some of them threw stones. The Commission was not stopped, however, and passed through but the Superintendent of Police thought it necessary to stop and have the students removed to prevent a repetition of this, possibly with more serious consequences. The students then behaved in a most disloyal and objectionable manner. A full report of this part of the events which was the only really untoward incident is attached. It would appear that no responsible member of the staff of the College was present with the students and that of the College were not aware of the intention of the to behave in this objectionable manner.

9. After settling this matter the Superintendent of Police joined the Garden Party and subsequently the Commission returned to the railway station without trouble at all. The actual intended method of departure had apparently not become known to the public and there was no sort of demonstration on the return journey. A car carrying persons with black flags however, appears to have made for the railway station by another route and reached near the Level Crossing on the Mall apparently with the intention of joining the procession of the cars again. The Superintendent of Police happened to notice this car coming along the other side of the railway and divined its intention and managed to stop it signalling to constables on the road. The Commission then reached the station and boarded the special coaches attached to the Mail and departed in due course at 5.35 p.m.

BOYCOTT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION IN THE GROUNDS OF GOVERNMENT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, KANPUR

REPORT BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, KANPUR,
DATED, DECEMBER 3, 1928.

I was acting as pilot to the procession of motor cars which reached Nawabgunj and the grounds of the Agricultural College without any untoward incident. At the point where the road moves to the Retreat in the College ground, a number of students, presumably belonging to the College, were lined up on either side. Some of those on the left hand side of the road threw stones at the cars as they passed. Two stones actually fell into my car, one hitting me at the back of the hand and the other on the shoulder. I was looking back at the time and saw one stone strike the car in which Sir John Simon was driving and I afterwards learnt that a small stone also fell in the car in which Lord Cadogan was sitting. Apprehending the danger of further stoning on the return journey, with perhaps more serious consequences, I stopped my car and allowed the procession of cars to pass on. I then addressed the students on the left hand side of the road and told them that they must move from their position so close to the road. On this they became most insulting and absolutely refused to move and proceeded to pass most abusive remarks the whole time. Although I had 6 constables with me who would have been amply sufficient to deal with the students had I wished to use force, I purposely waited for some more men to be brought up in order that the students might be over awed without the necessity of the actual use of force. The Sub Inspector of Nawabgunj was there at the time and as the students refused to listen to my orders, I deemed it necessary to send for the Principal as soon as possible and I instructed the Sub Inspector to summon him. His horse was a little distance away from him at the time. He went to mount and then started to trot across the cricket field ; the students seeing him do this, most unreasonably objected and rushed to surround him. I went on to the fields to see that he was not molested and while I went across the ground more than one student actually struck me on the back with their fists, though they took good care to run away

as soon as I turned round. I can probably identify one of the students, whom I actually saw strike me. Having succeeded in seeing that Sub Inspector got through I then returned to the road, by which time some mounted police had arrived and without any intention of using force against the students, I drew up the mounted police with the intention of keeping them in order until the arrival of the Principal. Unfortunately the behaviour of the students became much worse and one lad in particular was violently abusive (incidentally he was one of the lads to throw stones) and I wished to obtain his name in order to report him to the Principal accordingly, I, therefore, called him to come to me and I moved towards him. On seeing this he ran away. By this time Inspector Pt. Tara Chand had arrived, and, on seeing this incident, directed two constables to seize this boy. The boy ran away followed by the two constables. The rest of the students ran after them and the constables got cut off. The Inspector seeing that there was a danger of the constables being assaulted ran over to prevent this. I immediately followed him. Some of the students struck constable Barma Singh and the rest ran into the hall and produced a large number of sticks and various other missiles and their attitude became extremely threatening. They continued to shriek and to shout and to offer all sorts of provocation. I refrained, however, from dealing with them as I might have done. No force whatsoever was used by any member of the police nor was any one struck by any police officer at all. Soon after matters had reached this stage the Principal arrived on the scene. Subsequently Dr. Jawahar Lal arrived, and the attention of the students became diverted from the police. I, therefore, left the Principal to deal with the students and withdrew the police immediately. The students still continued to insist on being allowed to stand at a point near where the procession would pass and they actually stood at a place on the road only a little far away from where they were before and would still have been able to repeat their performance. Subsequently on the return journey the members of the Commission, the students' attitude was most blatantly disloyal and offensive, both to the members (?) leaving the Garden Party.

**REPORT OF G. CLARKE,
DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE, U.P.,
DATED, JANUARY 31, 1929.**

The Principal's report (appendix III, para 5) states that the college classes were held on December 3rd. The agricultural college students without exception attended as usual. The students remained loyal and quiet notwithstanding the fact that the Technological Institute, the Sanatan Dharam College and most colleges and schools in Cawnpore had observed a hartal and did not attend college at all on December 3rd.

2. The Agricultural College classes finish at 3.10. On enquiry I found that (1) Krishna Shanker Misra 3rd diploma class attended early morning field classes but was absent from lectures 11 - 3.10 on December 3rd with leave owing to sickness (appendix XVI No. 26) and (2) Shanti Raj Swarup 2nd year diploma class son of Lala Anand Swarup a member of the Governing Body attended the early morning field classes and the first lecture period till 11.50 when not feeling well he left the college, took medicine and remained in his room (appendix XVI No. 27). The names of both have been sent in by Principal as present at the scene of the disturbance on December 3rd (appendix III para 14).
3. Early in the afternoon of December 3rd people began to collect in the college grounds near the road by which the Commission's cars had to pass to the Garden Party. The Principal states (appendix III paras 1, 2, 3) that a gathering of about 200 people composed of a mixed crowd from the city bearing flags collected at 2.25 p.m. They were lining the public road to the college opposite the new Technological Institute. Some of the crowd sitting apart looked like students but not of the agricultural college. Some of this crowd ultimately came on to the college lawns. The warden was sent to ask Dr. Jawahar Lal who was present to get the crowd out of the college area. He promised to do so but the crowd took no notice and continued to collect there.

4. The station officer Nawabgunj Nawab Husain stated at the enquiry (appendix IX) that he went to Mr. Maya Das's bungalow before Mr. Maya Das went to the garden party between 2.30 and 3.00 p.m. and told him that boys had collected on the college land. He told Mr. Maya Das that he wanted some professor to help him. He was told that written orders had been given to the warden. Students began to collect at 2 o'clock. There were 15 to 20 at 2 o'clock, the numbers increasing as time went on, at 2.30 there were about 50 and about 3 there were about 100.
5. Mr. Damle the warden states (appendix XII) that before 3 p.m. a large crowd had already gathered on both sides of the road near the turning point towards the Retreat. He recognized students of the Technological Institute, Sanatan Dharam College and other city colleges and schools.
6. The Superintendent of Police says (appendix IV) that some of the public had gone into the garden but that Dr. Jawahar Lal had withdrawn them long before the arrival of the Commission. He told me subsequently at the enquiry (appendix VIII) that Dr. Jawahar Lal brought some city people to the scene of the disturbance on hearing that there was trouble by which time Mr. Maya Das had also arrived. He thought that Dr. Jawahar Lal brought 40 to 50 men. He asked him to take them away and as far as Mr. Marsh Smith knew he did so.
7. The Collector (appendix VII, A) said one or two non-cooperators like Dr. Jawahar Lal were present when he arrived on the scene after the Commission's cars had gone to the garden party.
8. The site inside the college grounds is well suited for a hostile demonstration. There is a choice of routes up to the entrance to the college grounds but the cars were bound to pass the site of the disturbance in the college grounds on their way to the garden party at the Retreat. (i) This site would not be overlooked by persons out to make trouble or to demonstrate (ii) They would be certain to go there unless prevented by the police from getting into the college grounds at all. It is shown below that the action taken allowed a number to gain admission by entrances other than the main gate.
9. S. Abdul Rauf Deputy Collector stated (appendix XI) that a crowd of two or three thousand people were gathered before sunset

outside the main entrance to the college at the junction of Orphanage road and Nawabganj road and the circle inspector Pt. Tara Chand stated (appendix X) that 400 — 500 were gathered there by 3 o'clock. One European sergeant and one circle inspector, one head constable and 12 constables were on duty at the main gate and the adjoining roads to prevent people going into the college grounds by the main gate. Some sowars came on the scene. S. Abdul Rauf as soon as he received news that something was happening in the college compound went along Orphanage road to two other entrances near the tank opposite the Deputy Director's office and asked people not to enter the college compound. He saw no police previously posted there but there were two or three constables posted at the junction of Orphanage road and the main road leading up to the college entrance. He did not find any constables at the 2 entrances near the tank in the Company Bagh garden. He did not take any action as regards Nawabganj road because sowars were stationed between the main entrance and the Nawabganj thana and also along the side of road leading from Hazaribagh to Nawabganj road. The station officer Nawabganj Police Station said on the road in the college grounds there was himself, one naik and 6 constables, one constable was on duty on the kutch road leading from the Nawabganj Bazar to the college past the library and no police were on duty at the entrance to the college grounds from Orphanage road and through the boarding houses.

Mr. Damle stated (appendix XII) that 100 or 200 people from Orphanage road came through the road between Mr. Richards bungalow and the Principal's bungalow where no police arrangements were made to exclude the public. The crowd coming might have been mistaken for students. He also saw people coming in from Nawabganj Bazaar past the kutch road near the Library on which no police had been placed.

10. The position at the time the Agricultural College students left their classes at 3.10 was as follows : —

There is no doubt that persons not belonging to the Agricultural College had gathered in the college grounds and those present included at least one prominent opponent of the Simon

Commission Dr. Jawahar Lal who appears to have been present throughout the proceedings.

A crowd out to demonstrate and rapidly increasing was gathered outside the main entrance to the college with the object doubtless of going into the college grounds if they could. Police were posted on the main entrance and stopped them going in by that entrance but the arrangements did not prevent them getting in by other entrances of which there are several on Nawabganj road and Orphanage road. A number were actually seen coming in by two other entrances and joined the persons already collected, there. Agricultural College students after they had left their classes at 3.10 joined the crowd to see the Simon Commission cars pass. I cannot say how many, certainly not all. A hockey match was in progress near the boarding houses $\frac{1}{2}$ mile away between a European and Anglo-Indian team called the Rangers and the college team and cricket practice was going on the lawn in front of the college.

11. The Principal in his report states that 39 students were present. 25 were identified by police at a parade held by the city magistrate (appendix VI), 9 of these were amongst those reported by the Principal. Mr Marsh Smith Superintendent of Police said the identification proceedings were not satisfactory. 161 students were arranged in circles and moved about as he was going round. The Principal left before the identification proceedings were complete to attend a private engagement arranged before he knew of the parade. Mr Sabinis, 2nd Economic Botanist, was then in charge. Mr. Marsh Smith said in these circumstances it is quite possible that some of the boys identified may have been wrongly identified. The identification proceedings do not help. Students from other colleges and schools, demonstrators from outside who had collected earlier in the afternoon and continued to come in by roads which were left open and a certain number of agricultural college students made up the gathering seen on the college lawn by the Commissioner Allahabad, the Collector and Superintendent of Police when they passed with the Simon Commission to the garden party. Among this gathering were prominent boycotters who are said not to have been out to create trouble but who I should say came for no other purpose. Mr. Marsh Smith stated at the

enquiry (appendix VIII) that the total number on the college lawn was 150. The Principal stated (appendix III para 9) that the crowd contained many street urchins and hooligans, mill hands and political agitators, school boys and others. Mr. Damle states (appendix XII) that some of the crowd was respectably dressed others had the appearance of well to do artizans who might have been mistaken for students. The Commissioner, the Collector and Superintendent of Police took them to be students. These observers were not in a position to recognize agricultural college students when they saw them. The latter two concluded that the gathering with a few exceptions consisted of agricultural college students because some of the people addressed Mr. Maya Das as Principal and ran towards the college when the police intervened. They were, however, more likely to be influenced in arriving at this conclusion by the fact that the gathering was in the private grounds of the college and they did not know the facts about outsiders having access to the grounds and coming in from entrances other than the main gate. The Principal's description of the gathering as composed largely of street urchins and hooligans, mill hands and political agitators is over coloured. The crowd undoubtedly behaved objectionably when the cars passed. Stones were thrown, 2 struck Mr. Marsh Smith's car, one fell into the car in which Mr. Cadogan was seated and one struck the lower part of Sir John

statements of 24 of the 25 students identified by the police (appendix XVI). The statement of Pradhan Virendra Singh was not taken as he was stated not to have been taking part.

Five of the 24 students whose statements were taken namely :—

No. 3. J.N. Kaul
No. 4. P.N. Nagar
No. 7. Chotay Lal Katyar
No. 18. Ram Sarup Singh
No. 21. Syed Raziul Hasan

state that they were not present. I was impressed with the straight forward way in which these students made their statements and believed them. There is no student named No. 16 Anand Swarup Singh in the college. 18 of the students identified admit they being present on the college lawn namely :

No. 2. A.N. Sheopuri
No. 5. Krishna Gupta
No. 6. M.N. Dar
No. 8. Mazhar Saíd
No. 9. S.N. Arora
No. 10. Jagat Prakash
No. 11. Jagdish Singh
No. 12. Ahmad Khan
No. 13. R.N. Chaturvedi
No. 14. Zainuddin Ahmad
No. 15. Mohd. Hamad Kidwai
No. 17. Ram Chandra Arora
No. 19. Parmatma Saran
No. 20. B.D. Joshi
No. 22. Jai Ram Singh
No. 23. Ram Brijharat Singh
No. 24. Raj Behari Lal
No. 25. A.D. Joshi

12. With two exceptions noted below I do not think they behaved in a manner requiring severe disciplinary action. They were wrong in

joining the outside persons who had come in to demonstrate against the Simon Commission. They lost their heads and got out of hand when the police intervention appeared likely. It has to be remembered that prominent boycotters like Dr. Jawahar Lal whose peaceful intentions I disbelieve were moving about among them as well as outsiders who had come in for the sole purpose of making themselves objectionable.

13. It is to the credit of the agricultural college students who were present that (1) they did not observe a *hartal* although I am convinced that efforts were made in the morning to get them out and (2) they were brought to reason as soon as the Principal arrived on the scene. They impressed me when they appeared before me as sensible fellows.

14. The two exceptions to which I refer are :

(1) A.N. Sheopuri (4th year diploma). He was identified 4 times by different persons at the identification parade. He admits arguing with the police and shouting. Mr. Marsh Smith is certain that his behaviour was particularly objectionable (appendix VIII). It is fairly certain also that he continued to shout and make himself objectionable after the Principal had restrained the other students. His attitude when he made his statement before me was unsatisfactory. He has little connection with the province. His late father was a resident of Chappra, Behar, and his property is situated there. He was educated in the United Provinces and his guardian lives in Ballia.

A.N. Sheopuri is in the 4th year class. He will sit for his final examination in April 1929. Disciplinary action is necessary in his case but to expel him now is a very severe punishment, it will ruin his career and probably turn him into a permanent agitator.

I recommend that he should be allowed to sit for the final examination in 1929. That he should not be allowed to return to the College after the end of the present term whether he passes or fails and that orders should be issued that he is not to be offered employment in the Agriculture Department.

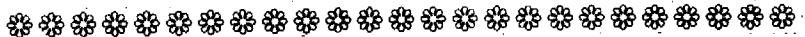
15. (ii) Zain Uddin Ahmad Kermani, 1st year diploma was identified by two persons. Mr Marsh Smith is certain that his behaviour was

particularly objectionable. His attitude when he made his statement before me was unsatisfactory and I formed the opinion that he was not speaking the truth. He denies having been asked by the police to give his name but there is little doubt that he was asked by the Superintendent of Police and refused.

He is the son of Khan Bahadur Mahmoodul Hasan Advocate Bara Banki and states that his mother is the sister of the Raja of Jehangirabad, of this I have no proof. Disciplinary action is required. I recommend that he should be allowed to sit for the first year's examination in April — May 1929, but he should be rusticated for the summer term and not allowed to return to the college until the autumn term in October.

The Principal should be directed to write to his father informing him that Government after full enquiry consider his conduct unsatisfactory on December 3rd. He will be removed from the college if there are further complaints on his return.

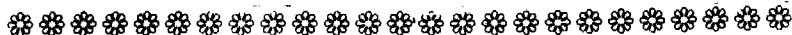
16. I have already dealt with the question of the general discipline of the college in discussing the occurrence on December 3, 1928. I am convinced that an attempt was made to get the students out on strike but the leaders who I have not been able to discover had little or no influence and the attempt failed. The Agriculture College students as a body behaved better in this respect than the students of other colleges and schools. I do not consider it advisable to take severe measure against the general body of students in view of what happened in other colleges and schools in Cawnpore. The best course I am convinced is to let the matter subside after suitable disciplinary action has been taken against the two students whose behaviour was exceptionally objectionable.
17. The annual convocation is held in February and H.E. or the Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture is asked to preside. I respectfully advise that the invitation should be declined this year to mark the disapproval of Government of some students of the college joining in the demonstration. I consider the Principal should be instructed that the annual convocation will not be held this year.



NEWS AND VIEWS



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EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS CLIPPINGS SUBMITTED TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY

THE PIONEER, ALLAHABAD, NOVEMBER 13, 1928.

“LISTEN, LEARN & REPORT”

— *Sir John Simon*

What the Statutory Commission Must Do
THE CHAIRMAN'S VIEWS ON THE PROBLEM
Indian Co-operation Essential

“The task of the Commission calls for the highest qualities of sympathy and imagination, as well as endless patience, strict impartiality, industry and courage,” says Sir John Simon in a letter to his constituents with reference to his chairmanship of the Commission.

The Commission has no idea of imposing Western ideas or constitutional forms from without. He adds :

“We go to listen, learn and faithfully report our conclusions with regard to the actual conditions.”

Sir John emphasises the great importance attaching to the final consultation between representatives from the legislatures in India and Great Britain.

“BRITAIN'S TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITY”

London; November 10. It is thought that the members of the Indian Statutory Commission will meet once or twice in England before leaving for India in January.

Sir John Simon has written a letter to the President of the Spenn Valley Liberal Federation, with reference to his chairmanship of the Indian Statutory Commission, in which he says that the “British Parliament has a tremendous responsibility to the peoples of India.

"It is a responsibility which cannot be denied, or evaded, for it is rooted in history and the facts of the world of today.

"If, therefore, the future of India is to be one of peaceful progress as all men of goodwill both in India and Great Britain intensely desire, this can come about only by the action of the British Parliament, combined with co-operation by India itself."

"Both these have been provided for by the scheme of investigation and consultation of which the work of the Commission forms the first stage."

AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION

"The Commission does not go to India with any idea of imposing Western ideas or constitutional forms from without".

"We go to listen, learn, and faithfully report our conclusions with regard to the actual conditions, and the varying proposals made from within."

"When the Commission has reported, the scheme must provide for that full and final consultation between the representatives of the Legislatures in India and Great Britain, which is the essential condition to be fulfilled before reaching a decision on which so much depends"

"The task of the Commission calls for the highest qualities of sympathy and imagination, as well as endless patience, strict impartiality, industry and courage"

"I enter on my part of this duty intensly desiring to be of what service I can be to India and Great Britain, and while I am deeply concious of my own short-comings, I am going to do my best."

GRAVITY OF TASK

Sir John Simon adds that the task of the commission is as grave and difficult as any task which could be laid on the shoulders of men who endeavour to discharge their duty in public affairs, and that he is deeply impressed by the responsibility involved.

If any member of the Commission had sought an easy and untroubled course he would have certainly declined to serve on it, but since the Commission consists of Members of Parliament, such a refusal to serve would have merely involved finding other Members of Parliament to take their place.

In a matter of this importance he feels that neither private nor political advantage can be allowed to stand in the way. His constituents, to whatever political party they adhere, he was convinced, would expect him to make the necessary sacrifice and would cooperate with him. He had not accepted the position on the Commission until he had carefully reflected and calculated with regard to the extent to which the ordinary service of a member to his division might be affected by such an action.

COMMISSION'S PLANS

The Commissioners, he says, will proceed to India early in the New Year, were likely to be absent till Easter and then return to Great Britain. Therefore, he would be available before the budget was introduced and throughout the rest of the ordinary session. The Commission was expected to return to India in the autumn or winter of 1928, and probably this second visit would run into the early part of 1929.

THE PIONEER, ALLAHABAD, FEBRUARY 5, 1928.

STATUTORY COMMISSION ARRIVES

Sir John Simon's Statement

"WE SHALL LEAVE NO GROUNDS FOR SUSPICION"

Indian Body to Sit Concurrently ?

Sir John Simon issued a communique on his arrival at Bombay on Friday pointing out that Indian opposition was mainly due to misunderstanding of the Commission's purpose and uncertainty as to its methods.

"We mean to take the fullest advantage of the opportunities open to us for consultation with Indian representatives who are willing to meet us," he said.

VICEROY'S APPEAL SUPPORTED

Bombay, February 3, The Pioneer was paid a great compliment today by Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Statutory Commission.

Your Special Correspondent was alone in being received and in being granted an exclusive interview.

Sir John Simon, who was looking remarkably well, within a few moments of the "Rawalpindi" being linked with India began to discuss with me, in his cabin the question of publicity with regard to the actions of the Royal Commission. I asked Sir John later whether he had seen and read the Viceroy's speech to the Central Legislature. He had not, but he promised that he would do so at the earliest possible moment.

SIR JOHN'S STATEMENT

Just before the train left the Mole for Delhi Sir John authorised me to make the following exclusive statement :—

"I have read the Viceroy's splendid speech to the Legislative Assembly, I have not had time to study it in detail, but I am forced to express my admiration for the noble spirit which has inspired his advice. On behalf of myself and my colleagues, I wish to associate the Statutory Commission with His Excellency's appeal, and to express the hope that the discontents and misunderstandings which are at present in several quarters being associated with our visit and our duty will be completely dissipated, and that essential honesty and friendliness of our intentions as a Commission will be accepted and responded to, by all political parties in India."

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I have conversed with every member of the Commission. And while I have no authority for making the deduction which follows, I am convinced that the minds of the members of the Commission are firmly fixed in the direction I shall indicate.

CONCURRENT BODY

The most important phrase in the communique issued by Sir John Simon and his colleagues is in the last sentence, and reads : "We mean to take the fullest advantage of the opportunities open to us for consultation with Indian representatives."

I should not be surprised if this power, inherent in the terms of reference of the Commission, is interpreted in such a way as to meet the main body of criticism which chagrined Indian opinion has formulated against it. I should not be surprised if Indian political parties were

invited to form a concurrent body, with equal powers of examination and cross-examination, sitting side by side with Sir John Simon and his colleagues and differing from them only in respect of the Commission's duty to report to the Imperial Parliament. This is a deduction, but, I am convinced, not far from the truth.

READY TO CONSULT WITH INDIA'S COMMISSION'S COMMUNIQUE

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 3, In a communique issued on his arrival at Bombay this morning, Sir John Simon said : —

"We have had a smooth and pleasant voyage and my colleagues and I set foot in India deeply impressed with the responsibility of our task and resolved to devote all our energy and goodwill to its discharge."

"Constitutional progress in British India essentially depends on the friendly and sincere cooperation of Indians and British representatives, but it is manifest that there exists at the moment in some quarters widespread misunderstanding of what the Commission sets out to do and uncertainty as to the methods it proposes to employ."

"We shall make it our business without delay to remove these misapprehensions, and after we reach Delhi and have become better acquainted with the actual situation, we intend to make a statement as our proposed procedure, which should leave no grounds for the suspicions which have unfortunately arisen".

"We mean to take the fullest advantage of the opportunities open to us for consultation with Indian representatives who are willing to meet us, both during this preliminary visit and when we return for a longer tour in October."

LAJPAT RAI RECEIVES LATHI BLOWS FOR CRYING 'SIMON GO BACK'

INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH, LUCKNOW, OCTOBER 31, 1928
RIOTOUS SCENE AT LAHORE RAILWAY STATION

**POLICE CHARGE CROWD WITH REGULATION LATHIES
RESULTING IN SERIOUS CASUALTIES**
HOSTILE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST SIMON COMMISSION
LAHORE, OCTOBER 30

After a long journey of thirteen hundred miles the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee arrived here this afternoon by their respective special trains. The arrivals and departures at all stations were private and police precautions were taken all along the route. The entire Lahore station area was closely guarded by police and barbed wires were used to keep out the crowd. As the arrival of the Commission as well as the Committee was private the function was confined to officials, members of the Punjab Council Committee and members of both the Commission and the Central Committee.

The boycotters numbering several thousands headed by Lala Lajpat Rai and other local leaders came towards the station and took up their position against barbed wires holding up black flags and crying 'Simon, go back'. The police armed with regulation 'lathies' charged back the crowd resulting in injuries to some, including Lala Lajpat Rai.

The members of the Commission and the Committee drove from the station to their respective residences.

Earlier at a meeting of the leaders of the Simon boycott movement who including Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Malaviya it was unanimously resolved to adhere to the programme of procession etc. in spite of the prohibitory orders.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S STATEMENT

Two statements have been issued by Lala Lajpat Rai, leader of the Nationalist party in the Assembly and Maulana Kasuri, President the

all parties committee, on the situation arising out of the Simon Commission's arrival at Lahore. The former says the attack by the police on the people was absolutely unprovoked and unwarranted and it was led by the Superintendent of Police himself. The latter points out that happily the lathi blows did not fall very heavy on him. The blows on his chest fell just over the heart region and caused some bruise resulting in slight fever and swelling. Lajpat Rai adds the same police official assaulted Raizada Hansraj M.L.C.; Dr. Gopichand and Dr. Satyapal. Maulana Kasuri says Raizada Hansraj bled profusely in his thumb and his shirt and "dhoti" were spoilt by blood stains.

THE MORAL OF LUCKNOW HAPPENINGS

THE LEADER, ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER 13, 1928.

At the public meeting held at Lucknow to condemn the Police assaults on demonstrators during the inauspicious visit of the Simon Seven to that town, Mr. A.P. Sen, who was himself an eye-witness of the police excesses, said in the course of his speech in moving the protest resolution that the police assaulted everyone impartially, demonstrators, as well as others, and characterized the trespass on Babu Basudeo Lal's house as a flagrant breach 'of the law'. As a lawyer he was of opinion that the officers responsible for issuing the order to the police to invade the house and deal severely with the inmates not only committed trespass but were also responsible for assault and unlawful restraint. Pandit Jagat Narayan, who seconded the resolution, declared that the raid on the house was 'a ruthless violation of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code'. Do the Government propose to punish the officers concerned for these manifest illegalities? Pandit Jagat Narayan retired from public life and has successfully resisted all attempts to induce him to take an active interest in public affairs. But the repeated police atrocities 'goaded him to come out from his region of seclusion and oblivion'. Government may scornfully treat

the condemnation of the disgraceful doings of the myrmidons of law and order, but despite such callousness they cannot totally disregard the views expressed by this eminent lawyer and citizen, whose services they have too often availed themselves of in very complicated criminal cases and who is widely respected for his character and independence. He rightly held the officials, from the Governor down to the city magistrate, responsible for all the misdeeds and illegalities perpetrated during the visit of the Simon Seven. He wanted to know, and others want to know, under what law kite - flying, and floating balloons with the inscriptions of 'Simon, go back' could be declared illegal. Further, how can the savage attacks on the demonstrators and processionists be justified ? The whole episode, from beginning to end, was extremely discreditable and provocative, and bore evidence of a spirit of intolerance and barbarism which has created an inexpressible feeling of bitterness and disgust. In spite of these sickening happenings the members of the Council Committee, posing as representatives of the province, continued their servile cooperation with the very Commission which is the prime cause of all this public mischief — as the bubonic plague was in 1897 — and had not a word of protest to utter, nor a gesture of dissatisfaction to make. Nothing could have better illustrated than their unconcerned attitude that they are the creatures of officialdom and do not in the least share the feelings of the people who do not trust and do not respect them.

Have the Simon Seven realized why the monopolists of power want law and order to remain a reserved subject, and how beautifully this department is administered ? Would the executive have dared to behave in this scandalous fashion if a responsible Minister had been incharge of the department ? It is positively dangerous to allow this department to remain incompetent, irresponsible and despotic hands. By their arrogant exercise of authority, they may one day bring about a revolutionary outbreak, or at all events, terrible bloodshed. In Lucknow itself on the day of the Commission's arrival the merciless hammering by the police of the demonstrators might have led to very serious consequences. If no untoward incidents occurred, if the seething mass of humanity were well under control, the credit for this belongs solely to the severe self-restraint of the leaders and the strict discipline exercised by them. "If the crowd of 30,000 gathered near the station on Nov. 30" said Pandit Jagat Narayan, "had the slightest

intention of retaliating, it could have severely injured one and 'all the 500 sowars, who did the chasing and beating. It was the good sense and self - restraint of the people and their leaders which prevented an outbreak of violence. The strength, the courage and the forbearance they showed in maintaining an attitude of non - violence have prevented the issues from being confused, put the authorities in the wrong and raised the hope for the future of the national struggle. The more the authorities confronted by manifestations of the unbreakable nationalist spirit, show signs of demoralisation by indulgence in brutal violence, the nearer will be the attainment of the goal of responsible self -government."

AN INSULTED K.C.S.I.

THE PIONEER, ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER 19, 1928
WHO WAS TO BLAME ?

The European Association at its annual conference in Calcutta goes from bad to worse. A Mr. W.H. Thompson admitted that if the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service disappeared to-day, there would be 'SWARÁJ' tomorrow, and inspired by this disastrous thought the conference decided that the time was not ripe for the transfer of law and order. Various speakers were horrified at the suggestion that the control of the police should be handed over to an Indian Minister, Mr. Gavin Jones, in particular, opining that the country could not afford to have the morals of the police undermined ! While these extraordinary and amazing fears were being uttered, certain Indian politicians were exposing in the United Provinces Legislative Council the action of the police during the recent visit of the Simon Commission to Lucknow. We do not propose to go into the vexed question of the alleged police atrocities, we will only call attention to one incident, and to the insult offered to one eminent gentleman, and endeavour to draw an appropriate moral. The Maharajah of Mahmudabad is a well known figure, not only in provincial politics but throughout India. He commands the respect of every citizen — be he Mahomedan or Hindu — and during the Governorship of Sir Harcourt Butler he was a popular and successful Home Member, administering the police. For his services to the Government he was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India, and a Maharajah. Not a word has ever

been raised against his loyalty, against his patriotism, or against his behaviour. He does not, however, approve of the Simon Commission and accordingly he is now viewed with the greatest suspicion by Government, and is included among the objectionable politicians who figure in the C.I.D. fortnightly reports, every time they say or do anything. Although he is a supporter of the boycott, he has never taken part in any processional demonstrations against the Commission, nor allowed his house or grounds to be used for such purposes. Yet, despite this irreproachable attitude, it is frankly admitted by Government that his house was twice surrounded by police, that plain clothes police men occupied one of his rooms, and that he and his family and his staff were subjected to humiliation and insult. In the midst of his multifarious, and often curious activities, the Chief Secretary found time to apologise for the action of the police. Mr. Gwynne, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, also apologised, and the Home Member, the Nawab of Chhatari, who feels towards the Maharajah like a younger member of his family, joined the Chief Secretary in expressing regret. Despite the fact that the Deputy Commissioner promised that the police invasion would not be repeated, a police official told the Private Secretary of the Maharajah, when the insult was repeated, that he 'didn't care what the Deputy Commissioner might say'. The Deputy Commissioner, for his part, is reported to have explained to the Maharajah that he was powerless in the matter and that the order emanated from a higher authority. Following the first incident the Maharajah was invited to Government House by the Governor and Sir Malcolm Hailey expressed regret to the Maharajah for the incidents. From the recital of these astonishing facts it is obvious that Government were either cognisant of the orders given with regard to the Maharajah, and that their apologies were, therefore, meaningless or that having general orders for police precaution some senior police official exceeded these instructions and, relying upon the general intention of the Government, felt himself in so strong a position, as to be able to ignore the apologies and expressions of regret made by the Chief Secretary, the Deputy Commissioner and the Home Member. The duty of the Governor is a plain one — he must take the most vigorous and rigorous disciplinary action against this "Lord High Executioner". The first offence might be excused on the ground of too

great a zeal, but for the second offence there is no excuse whatsoever; it is merely a defiance of the ordinary processes of Law and Order, and defiance of the authority of the well meaning Deputy Commissioner and may we hope, of the Home Member, who is supposed to be in charge of the police. If a single word of the Governor's expression of regret to the Maharajah was genuine, it is not too much to say that he ought to be prepared to substantiate it by dealing severely with the offending official. So much for the plain obvious duty of the ruler of this Province ; let us now draw the moral. If there were a constitutional government in this Province, and if the police were under the control of a Minister responsible to the Legislature, such a state of affair could not exist. The Minister would be removed immediately and the offending official dismissed from the service. But that is not the way the defenders of the present regime would have things go. They are determined to continue to keep in their hands the weapon of a badly controlled police force. They do not wish such a force to be governed constitutionally ; it has, from their point of view, to be administered in an arbitrary fashion. Loyal citizens can be the subject of illegal actions, ex-servants of a Crown can be humiliated and insulted ; but the "izzat" of a policeman must be preserved. That, at least, will be the deduction which all right-minded people will make, unless His Excellency sees fit to administer the necessary and appropriate rebukes.

सत्यमेव जयते

RESIGN

THE LEADER, ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER 19, 1928

The disclosures made by the mover of the censure motion in the U.P. Legislative Council on Dec. 13 regarding the insulting treatment accorded to the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, the members of whose household were for the time being reduced to the position of prisoners, and whose secretary it was stated, could not move from one room to another, would cause widespread resentment. Would the Maharaja have received such considerate attention from the police if he had not been one of the leaders of movement for the boycott of the Commission ? The Home Member did not condemn the action of the police but rather defended it. He endorsed the one sided recital of facts by the Chief Secretary regarding the happenings at Lucknow and neither he nor the Chief Secretary had a word of condemnation to express of the wanton and brutal assaults of the police on peaceful demonstrators including respected members of the Council. What is the inference one is to draw from their speeches ? It is that in behaving as they did, they did not think that the police in any way acted wrongly. The Home Member felt distressed, but did he realize that the police behaved scandalously and that he as the member of Government in charge was responsible for their excesses ?

What is the meaning and what the value of his distress when he is ready to defend everything that his myrmindons did ? He had no reply to give to the vigorous attacks of Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurta, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Shaikh Mohammad Habibullah, all of whom showed how ridiculous was the official defence. So indefensible was his position that it appears that even his strongest supporters in the Council were not prepared to come to his rescue.

The Chief Secretary, whose attachment to the Home Member is as pathetic as his instinct to take the wrong side is evidently incurable, was the first official to speak. But how he spoke, his usual eloquence failed him, his facial expression was depressed, words came to him with difficulty, he was nearly inaudible. But he defended what was done by

the police. It was not until after a loud demand for a statement by him that the Home Member would stand on his legs. And he echoed his friend the Kumar. He too was very subdued, but of what avail is a pose of humility when the man has not the courage or the good sense to acknowledge the truth or to attempt reparation for the wrong that was done — wantonly, wickedly done ? But for the chivalrous courage of a band of students, the noble patriot, Pandit Jawahar Lal might have lost his life itself. The Nawab's predecessor in office, a bigger landed magnate and a citizen of a higher status than himself treated as if he were a disguised criminal, and no reparation is forthcoming. The raid upon the house of Babu Basudeo Lal, the savage conduct of the police inside the house, and the arrests that were made — what is one to say of all this ? How could the Home Member and even this Chief Secretary have the hardihood to tolerate what happened ? They do not realize the extent to which their Government has been brought into contempt, not by pestilential agitators or lawless boycotters, but by that very police whom they and their chief the Governor still laud to the skies after all that has happened ; still have the coolness to represent as friends and protectors of the people. Still more has this result been brought about by the attitude of the Government who stand up for those executive and police officers and men instead of punishing them with the just severity that their conduct calls for. Either the Governor in Council approves of that conduct or he does not. If he does, the last word has been said, and peaceful and unoffending citizens not willing to submit like slaves to deliberate wrong know where they stand. If he does not, it is his imperative and immediate duty to punish the wrong -doers instead of praising them before an outraged public. Even if the Governor in Council think that all the fault was on the side of the injured people themselves, it is his duty to take note of the unmistakable and emphatic verdict of the Council and to take action in harmony with it. If he will not, he will brand his Government as an undisguised autocracy callous to the opinion of the lawfully constituted legislature — yes, even a maimed legislature such as we have under the present constitution. If this is so with regard to the whole of the close corporation known as the Governor in Council far worse is the position, we will not say of the Chief Secretary albeit he is an Indian for he is after all a permanent servant of the Government to whom any consideration higher than the rise in service is irrelevant and must be beneath notice,

but at least of the Home Member drawn from the ranks of non-officials and himself once an elected member. Branded as unfit by the Governor and the Governor-General who have superseded him, unable or unwilling to control the officers subordinate to him for whose good behaviour he is directly responsible, abjectly helpless even to save his own predecessor from dishonouring treatment, censured by the Council in a downright manner for his imbecility or worse, there he is still in office without power of object not of sympathy but of condemnation, doing nothing, prepared to do nothing, able to do nothing, to justify himself. What a Government is this, what a member he is, that this should be so. The Chief Secretary's one concern appears to be that Indians in high position should not be discredited. He is mistaken. Every man is his own best friend or worst enemy. And he and his noble friends in the Government have been so acting that no one need trouble to discredit them. Their own anti-national policy, their unqualified support of every opinion and every act of the Government in which they are but of which they are not, howsoever against the interests of their country as well as the honour of their countrymen they may be, have discredited them so thoroughly as to leave no room for any attempt in that behalf by anyone else. We have in the last sentence referred to India as their country and Indians as their countrymen. But they may argue — who knows ? Anything is possible that it was both a geographical and a racial mistake that they should have been born where they were and as they were. May we put to them one question ? Do the non-Indian in the Government — above them or by their side or below them — believe that the Maharaja of Mahmudabad has any cause for grievance ? The Government have forfeited the regard of the people. And the member, in charge of law and order, has so lost the confidence of the Legislative Council that when it censured him, he sat helpless without even calling for a division. If ever there was a case for instantaneous resignation because of the double censure of his official superiors as well as the Legislature, here it is. How long will he stick to his office ? Well; great is the staying power of these unabashed stickfasts.

POLICE HOOLIGANISM AT LUCKNOW U.P. COUNCIL'S CENSURE

PRESS COMMENTS
PUBLISHED IN 'THE LEADER', ALLAHABAD,
DECEMBER 20, 1928.

THE BASUMATI

The U.P. Legislative Council is by no means a stronghold of Nationalism. The Nationalist element — Swarajists, Liberals and Independents, put together—is not in the majority in that Council ; and it is impossible for the Opposition to carry a resolution unless it secures the support of some members who find it profitable to sit on the fence. If Mr. Chintamani's adjournment motion was carried by a substantial majority even under these circumstances, that is sure proof that the whole province is unanimous as regards the innocence of the crowd and the guilt of the police. There is no difference between Hindus and Muslims and Talukdars and tenants over this question. They are all *ek dil* and have nothing but condemnation for the police and their methods. The Muslim and Taluqdar members of the Council condemned the police as strongly as Mr. Chintamani. No wonder Lucknow episode constituted 'a grave public scandal'. The Hon. the Nawab of Chattari's defence of the police was of no value whatever. Indeed, his effrontery is hard to beat. It is astounding that, being an Indian, he could take shelter behind the plea that 'no insult was intended' to the Maharaja of Mahmudabad. It is no consolation to learn that one official went and another will go to the Maharaja to express regret. It is what we in, Bengal call '*Gau mare juta dan*' — that is to say, having killed one's cow giving the aggrieved person a pair of shoes.

THE TRIBUNE

We offer our sincere congratulations to Mr. C.Y. Chintamani on the success of his motion for adjournment in the U.P. Council to protest against the police assaults on the boycott demonstrationists at Lucknow on November 28, 29, 30 and December 5, and to condemn the attitude of the local Government in the matter. Those assaults and that conduct, as Mr. Chintamani pointed out, had attracted India - wide attention and were regarded throughout the country as constituting a grave public scandal. The Lahore incidents of a month before had naturally attracted universal attention both in and out of India on account of the outstanding position in public life of the principal victim of the outrage, and it might have been expected as Mr. Chintamani said ; that those incidents, followd as they were by Lala Lajpat Rai's death, would have put the U.P. police on their guard against perpetrating a similar outrage but so far from this having been the case the police at Lucknow appear to have been given even a longer rope than were the police at Lahore, for the brutalities perpetrated by them far exceeded those of their Lahore comrades. All accounts, except those contained in the official communiques, make this clear beyond the possibility of a doubt ; and as regards the official versions themselves nobody as Mr. Chintamani said, would believe them in preference to the versions of such as Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mr. Pant. The length to which the police went may be judged from the treatment accorded by them to no less a man than the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, who only three years before had been the Home Member of the province. He had in his possession, said Mr. Chintamani correspondence and photographs which proved conclusively that the Maharaja and the members of his family were virtually in police custody on two occasions.

And yet what was the attitude of the Government ? Not a single police official had so far been punished or even reprimanded and the communiques issued by the Chief Secretary, whom Mr. Chintamani aptly designated the white - washer Chief of the U.P. Government, had completely exonerated the police. In the Council itself the same attitude was maintained by Government. Both the Chief Secretary and the Home Member declared that the incidents, though regrettable, were unavoidable and the police had done nothing but their duty. This was really adding insult to injury.

THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL

At the adjournment motion in the United Provinces Legislative Council regarding the police excesses at Lucknow, Mr. Chintamani exposed some doings of the local Government which did not reflect much credit on it. He condemned the acts of hooliganism committed by the police as well as the official communiques issued by the Chief Secretary whom he aptly described as the 'white - washer in-chief'. There will be general agreement with Mr. Chintamani's observation that it was an irony of fate that the Commission which had to decide the future of India dared not go into any city except under the protection of the police criminals whose lawless behaviour stood exposed before the whole country. We were under the impression that the police confined their attention only to the demonstrators in the city, but Mr. Chintamani revealed in the Council something more interesting than that. It would appear that they kept under watch, 'virtual police custody', the Maharaja of Mahmudabad himself. The Maharaja was three years ago himself the Member in charge of Law and Order and his protests against such attentions would appear to have been in vain. This respected Muslim leader is by no means a revolutionary, neither has he taken part in any demonstration. Yes, he has attracted the unwelcome attentions of a force which he himself controlled not long ago. Mr. Chintamani said that he had in his possession correspondence and photographs which proved conclusively that the Maharaja and members of his family were virtually in police custody. Evidently the Maharaja's fault is that he had at heart the interest of the nation and refused to join the ranks of the communalists in their attempt to destroy its unity. His support to the Nehru Report perhaps does not fit in with the ideas of the bureaucracy and hence these manifestations of its disapproval. But the Maharaja is in good company in his present plight for almost every Indian politician, moderate or extremist, it is well known, is kept under observation. If anyone, though he may be in the good books of Government, were to utter one word breathing manliness or patriotism, all decency is thrown to the winds and his movements are watched. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was himself not free from the kindly attentions of the C.I.D. But the other day the *Pioneer* instanced the case of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who, it is said, was on the black list of the local C.I.D. These are normal events in an alien regime in which suspicion and intimidation are the recognised methods of government.

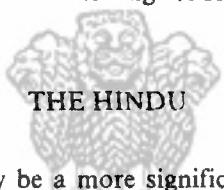
THE AMRIT BAZAR PATRIKA

Those who have one ear lopped walk along the bye-lanes outside the village but those whose both ears have been cut pass through the very interior of the village. So goes a Bengali saying which embodies an important truth about human nature. Our Government here, whether provincial or central, belong to the latter category and have long divested themselves of all sense of shame. This is why we think that the censure motion which has been just carried against the U.P. Government in connection with the conduct of the police on the occasion of the visit of the Simon Commission to Lucknow will not produce any effect on them. Otherwise the chorus of condemnation of their action in the Council would have made them hang down their heads in shame. Nay, they would have put on sackcloth and ashes and offered a public apology for the scandalous misdeeds of their subordinates.

After the long indictment against the police ably made by Mr. Chintamani and equally eloquently supported by other speakers, there was little defence left to the spokesmen of the Government. And it would be more than human if the two Indian officials also did not feel so. And yet such was the dirty nature of their duty that they had to try to defend an indefensible position and trot out arguments which it was a disgrace for any reasonable man to put forward.

But the violence of the police did not remain confined to the boycott demonstrators. Mr. Chintamani gave an instance of the police hooliganism which, we are sure, would leave most people gaping in wonder. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad is one of the most prominent landholders in U.P. Only three years back he was considered fit and trustworthy to be not only a member of the Executive Council of his province but to be placed in charge of the portfolio of Law and Order. And would it be believed that this self - same person held in the highest esteem by his countrymen was in the words of Mr. Chintamani 'repeatedly insulted by the police' and with his family kept virtually in police custody on two occasions this time. The Home Member, the Nawab of Chattari, assured the House that no insult was intended for the Maharaja and added, possibly to convey the impression that ample reparation was made to him, that both he and the Deputy

Commissioner had personally expressed their regret to him. His words, however, but for the seriousness of the occasion, would provoke a smile. The Nawab Sahib may have heard of the story of how a Brahmin's milch - cow was killed by a cobbler and how when he protested against the misdeed, he was sought to be pacified by the latter with the present of a pair of shoes made of the same cow's hide. Well, the way in which he tried to soothe the feelings of his predecessor in office would remind many of this story. Mr. Habibullah, a cooperator and habitual supporter of the Government, while severely condemning the action of the Government, asked the two gentlemen to resign if they could not prevent such police excesses on their own countrymen. His words will be has remained in long servitude in vain if it has not produced men impervious to all feelings of self-respect and appeals to patriotism.



THE HINDU

There could scarcely be a more significant commentary on the irresponsible and high - handed trifling by the bureaucracy with the elementary rights of the citizens than the U.P. Government's decision not to challenge a division on Mr. Chintamani's adjournment motion in the provincial Council on the Lucknow police outrages. The motion had formulated some of the gravest charges that could be brought against the custodians of law and order — that they had been primarily responsible for a serious breach of the peace in which many citizens including a number of prominent leaders, were brutally attacked while taking part in a legitimate political demonstration and seriously wounded, that they had effected forcible and unlawful entry into the house of an old, blind and respected citizen and that they had caused serious annoyance and trouble on two occasions to the premier nobleman of the province and his household by establishing a cordon round his house. And what do the Government do in the face of these allegations which, if not disproved, must cut at the very root of their authority and prestige ? The Chief Secretary and the Home Member, both Indians by the way — not the least curious thing about the debate is that no European, official or non-official, should have been forthcoming to say a word either for or against the police in the matter

attempted an explanation of the conduct of the police which was almost formal in its unconvincing feebleness, and then seem to have ostentatiously washed their hands of the whole affair, presumably not caring a tuppence about the Council's verdict, serene in their consciousness that the Council, however much it might foam at the mouth was absolutely powerless to damage a single hair on the head of the bureaucracy. Nay, their studied indifference to the opinion of the Council would seem to have proceeded from the arrogant assumption upon which the bureaucracy has acted on many an occasion that the Council has no business to call it to account in regard to what the reserved half might do. Would the Chief Secretary have otherwise thought it a sufficient defence to say that 'the police had either to enforce law and order or to keep aloof' ? The before the Council was not whether the police should have tried to enforce law and keep order, but whether they confined themselves to such measures as were strictly legitimate for this purpose and did not make 'Law and Order' an excuse for organised official hooliganism. On this point, entirely a question of fact, neither the Chief Secretary nor the Home Member made the least attempt to let in fresh evidence, though the non-official speakers, including such a confirmed cooperator as Mr. Habibullah, had made mince the two press communiques issued by the Government immediately after the event. As to the police raid on Mr. Basudeo Lal's house, the Chief Secretary took refuge behind the fact that legal proceedings had been set afoot. The same excuse was not available in regard to the vexatious and insulting treatment meted out by the police to the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad who, such is the irony of fate-was himself responsible for Law and Order in the province not quite three years ago. So the Home Member came out with the lame excuse that no insult had been intended; that apologies had been made to the nobleman in question and that more apologies would be made by the Chief Secretary in person. The Maharaja Sahib may accept the apologies or treat the conduct of the police as beneath his notice.. But the public can judge, from the scandalous treatment accorded to such prominent leader, what credence may be attached to the protestations of innocence in the white-washing communiques issued by the Government. Today the U.P. Government stand unequivocally condemned at the bar of public opinion and not least for their utterly defiant attitude in the Council.

THE LUCKNOW ASSAULTS

PRESS COMMENTS

PUBLISHED IN 'THE LEADER', ALLAHABAD,
DECEMBER 21, 1928.

(THE GUJARATI)

The disgraceful manner in which the police assaulted the peaceful boycott demonstrators at Lucknow on the arrival of the Simon Commission has been universally condemned and it is worth remembering that some of the excesses alleged to have been committed by the police have been denounced as unlawful by prominent lawyers of the place. At a public meeting held at Lucknow, a few days ago, to condemn the police outrages, Mr. A.P. Sen and Pandit Jagat Narain, ex-Minister, both of whom are leading lawyers and prominent Liberal Politicians, recorded their emphatic protest against the action of the city authorities in assaulting processionists and demonstrators in connection with the Simon Commission's boycott. Mr. A.P. Sen in a speech pointed out from personal experience that the police assaulted not only demonstrators but innocent on-lookers as well. Both he and Pandit Jagat Narain referred in strong terms to the police raids on the house of Babu Basudeo Lal, advocate, and the belabouring by the police of the inmates of his house on December 5 and characterised it as a flagrant breach of Law. Pandit Jagat Narain described it as a ruthless violation of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. The official version white - washes the whole affair and as usual blames the people for the incidents. The public, however, knows better and will rely more on the straight-forward statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rather than the one-sided version of the officials.

U.P. COUNCIL'S CENSURE NEW INDIA

The U.P. Council passed a vote of censure against the Government for the police atrocities at Lucknow during the stay of the Simon Commission. It was revealed in the course of the debate that the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, an ex-member of the U.P. Government in charge of Law and Order, was grossly insulted by the police and left his house in consequence to live in another part of the city. No real defence was put forward by the Government for the lawless behaviour of the police, and such was the strength of feeling in the Council that the Government had not the courage to demand a division. Even those who had cooperated with the Commission and given social functions in its honour supported Mr. Chintamani's motion. It is a pity that it was not forced to a division, for the Government would have been exposed as being without any non-official backing. The significance of the vote becomes greater when it is realised that the Council has appointed a committee to cooperate with the Simon Seven. Its action is in refreshing contrast to the failure of the Punjab Council to defeat the Government in regard to Lalaji's death.

VIEWS EXPRESSED IN NEWSPAPERS HINDI & URDU

(SUBMITTED TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY
BY THE NEWSPAPER DEPARTMENT)
AAJ, BENARES. (VARANASI), DECEMBER 1, 1928.

The paper refers to the assaults made by the police on the boycotters of the Simon Commission at Lucknow on Wednesday and Thursday last and remarks : This is the way in which preparations are being made at Lucknow to welcome the Simon Seven. Indians however exalted in rank and position are being beaten by the police. We heartily congratulate these workers and leaders. The *lathis* of the police are bearing witness to the popularity and the success of the Simon Seven. These *lathis* which have been struck on the servants of the motherland are making the way safe for her freedom.

PERVERTED UNDERSTANDING OF THE BUREAUCRACY

BHARAT, ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER 2, 1928

Commenting on the "police assaults" on the boycotters of the Statutory Commission at Lucknow the paper says that the feeling which the Government has aroused in the hearts of the people by subjecting respected public leaders to *lathi* blows can never do any good to the Government. It is, however, not proper to condemn the police for these assaults. As they were committed at Lucknow under the very nose of the Governor and the Home Member we are constrained to say that responsibility for them lies really on the shoulders of higher authorities and that the police officers only carried out their orders. The authorities perhaps think that they will be able to overawe the people by taking such steps but they are sorely mistaken. The movement which could not be suppressed by the atrocities during the martial law days of the Punjab can never be crushed in this way. Such things on the contrary only go to feed the people's aspirations to bring about a speedy end of the bureaucracy and establish *swaraj*. By resorting to such atrocities the bureaucracy is hastening its own end.

सत्यमव जयने

WHITE COMMISSION AT LUCKNOW

AAJ, BENARES (VARANASI),

DECEMBER 3, 1928.

Referring to the belabouring of boycott demonstrators at Lucknow by the police the paper says : What place Indians have in India becomes clear from the death of Lala Lajpat Rai and the beating of respected leaders like Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. It is on such occasions that the memory of subjection rends the heart more painfully. To-day we have no position in our country. Our only duty is to pay taxes and obey their orders. We are

slaves and slaves have no rights. Theirs are the laws and they have arms. They can frame laws and they can also interpret and enforce them arbitrarily because they have arms. If we had even the rule of laws, to say nothing of justice and humanity, most of our grievances would have been removed. But the laws only exist for show, they are for crushing us. The authorities appear to be firmly determined to keep India deprived of her rights. The white Commission is making the real enquiry *in camera*. True facts are being concealed. The object of the appointment of an exclusively white commission can be the concealment of the true affairs of administration from Indians. It is the sacred duty of the Indians towards their motherland to boycott this Commission and to condemn it by holding demonstrations and taking out processions. No condemnation of those persons can be too strong who are cooperating with the Commission despite their compatriots being disgracefully beaten by the police.

NAKED DANCE OF THE LUCKNOW POLICE

SAMAYA, JAUNPUR, DECEMBER 4, 1928.

The paper strongly condemns the police assault on Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and others at Lucknow and urges people to avenge this insult to their country by strengthening the boycott movement. Proceeding it says : Now the question is how long does the Government propose to maintain its hold by means of the police batons ? It may be under the impression that it is thereby strengthening its foundation but really it is digging its own grave and we fear lest by such practices it should convert the country into another Ireland. There is yet time for the bureaucracy to wake up and refrain from such activities. We see a glorious future for India in this Nadirshahi.

BATON - RULE AT LUCKNOW.

SHAKTI, ALMORA, DECEMBER 8, 1928.

The paper vehemently condemns the police assault on Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and others at Lucknow and writes : The Magistrate let loose the red bloody wolves of the police on public. The sowars and the *dandebaz* police belaboured the unarmed and innocent people and besmeared them with blood. The blood of hundreds of innocent persons was spilled on the roads and sowars trampled upon the victims. The whole affair was so terrible that in the words of Lala Lajpat Rai every blow aimed at them was a nail in the coffin of the British Empire. It is true that Englishmen will never give swaraj to India by mutual agreement. They will do so only after they have sacrificed all their aeroplanes, machine - guns, bombs, poisonous gases and ammunition and the entire population of Britain. It is a question of life and death. They owe all their glory, greatness, power and wealth to India. They will never part with these simply on our resolutions, the Nehru Committee's report or for that matter the report even of God or Satan. They will yield only either when through our unity or force an armed war is waged or such a situation is brought about by non - cooperation that they cannot help making any compromise. But first of all we have got to teach a lesson to traitors who even now bow their heads before the Simon Commission. The Imperialists want to keep us deprived of high education, trade and industries, arms and military training and self-respect and honour and to impoverish us and keep us in perpetual bondage. Now it is for India to say whether it will continue to remain in this state or move forward.

LATHI RAJ

PRATAP, KANPUR, DECEMBER 9, 1928.

Commenting on the police assault on Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and others at Lucknow the paper characterizes the present system of

Govt. obtaining in India as a purely lathi raj a specimen of which is to be found in the attempt of the Govt. to impress upon the people the awe of the Simon Commission by means of police lathis and refuses to believe that the bomb which exploded at Manmad was meant for the Simon Commission. It remarks that police agents are omni-present. The man who went to Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru with a revolver appears to be some co-worker of Banerji who was the agent of the Meerut police and was arrested at Lahore. We cannot bear to see that as a result of police conspiracies people should be deprived of their freedom and the *lathi raj* should gain in strength by leaps and bounds. If we cannot do anything else we can at least courageously refuse to acknowledge the supremacy of *lathi raj*. Let them coerce us we shall not yield, let them intimidate us we shall not fear. In order to destroy the *lathi raj* and to establish the rule of liberty it is necessary for every man of action to treat those who are not with the country as traitors and subject them to social boycott.

POLICE BEWARE

सत्यमेव जयते

MAZDOOR, KANPUR, DECEMBER 9, 1928.

Condemning the police assault on Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant and others the paper says that even if the Govt. does not realize the consequences of such a folly today it will have to realize it one day if it persists in its present course. There is a limit to human patience. The public can also use the same weapon against the Government which the Government is using against it today. It is human nature to reply to a slap by a blow and though we ourselves are not supporters of this policy nobody can prevent this. If in a state of provocation the public happens to have recourse to some improper act by way of retaliation the responsibility for it will lie on the Government.

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY

SWADESH, GORAKHPUR, DECEMBER 9, 1928.

The paper writes : It is said that in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak officials hunted men. Whether this charge is true or false we cannot say. But what we suffer under the British rule certainly makes it plain that if the reports about the Tughlak rule are true, then surely this British autocracy is a revised and improved edition of it. These days not only men but also men like gods are hunted. Not more than a month ago, in the words of Diwan Chamanlal, the police which dances at the beck and call of the Government killed in Lahore Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the foremost leaders of the country. Dr. Alam tried his best that the Government might wash off the blot on it by holding a non-official inquiry but by refusing such an inquiry it has indirectly admitted the charge of murder. It is needless to say that by making an attack on Lala Lajpat Rai the Government has not only insulted him but dealt a blow at the heart of the entire Indian Community and specially elderly political leaders. Almost one month after this in Lucknow it showered batons on Pandit Jawahar Lal, left Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant half dead, gave spear blows to Pandit Rash Behari Tewari and broke the heads of several others. After perusing the account of the Lucknow attack there remains no need to tell anybody as to the intentions of the bureaucracy Does not the beating of the demonstrators even after they had retreated to the place allotted to them clearly mean that Government wants to rule the Indians by rod and keep them lifeless ? By striking Pant Ji, the leader of the non-official party and the well-known councillor Tewari Ji with batons and spears Government has insulted the whole body of non-official councillors and by beating Pt. Jawahar Lal it has thrown out an open challenge to the youths. We believe that the people will neither forget nor forgive the murder of their aged leader, the insult to their elected representatives and the challenge to the leader of the youths. These blood-boiling incidents would have made the youths ready to kill and be killed at that very moment had they not been instructed by their leader to be non-violent We cannot say what the Government wants. Baton blows to be returned by

baton blows or a return to be made by some other ways ? But we certainly want to emphasize that if it does not want to court a critical situation it will do well to refrain from such autocracy. We want to tell our Indian brethren that if they do not want to play traitor to the country or court blood-shed in future they should cease to be the "handle of the axe". We want to tell the youths not to swallow the insult to themselves, to their national life and to their dear motherland. They should remember it and also remember that in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal British rule means baton-rule and that India has to emancipate herself from this baton-rule. And towards this end shall we strive with discretion and restraint ?

BUREAUCRACY IN DELIRIUM

SUDHARAK, ETAWAH, DECEMBER 13, 1928

The paper commends the self - restraint exercised by the boycott demonstrators on the occasion of their being beaten at Lahore and Lucknow and says that the Lucknow incident shows that the bureaucracy is suffering from delirium and that the disease has taken such a serious turn that it is hastening its end. On November 29 Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and other leaders were wounded by police lathis. It was the height of oppression, the zenith of sinfulness. The boat of justice has foundered. The pet police of the dying, devilish bureaucracy should remain in readiness to take out the funeral of its patron soon. The jar of sin has filled to the brim.... Such are the doings of the Government, the custodian of law and order. Is that what the Government should do ? Does it want to maintain itself on this strength ? We cannot hold the police alone responsible for this inhuman and devilish incident. How could the lathi incident at Lahore have taken place if the bureaucracy had not exerted all its strength and striven by both proper and improper means to crush the agitation for the boycott of the Commission ?

FRESH OUTRAGES AT LUCKNOW

MEDINA, BIJNOR, DECEMBER 13, 1928.

The paper condemns the “savagery” displayed by the police in dealing with the demonstrators at Lucknow and says : The extent to which the Government has praised the bravery of the police in its communique is enough to cover any civilized Government with shame. But when we think that those responsible for issuing the communique are our own fellow countrymen — a Muslim Nawab and a Hindu Rajkumar — we are more sorry for our own misfortune. And on seeing the honour of our country and nation sullied in such a manner we are led to think that perhaps to these sons of India the duty of welcoming their masters is dearer than their own self-respect.

शाही कमीशन — यायकाट

“शक्ति साप्ताहिक”

11 फरवरी, 1928

3 तारीख को देशव्यापी हड़ताल ।

सर्वत्र स्कूल कालोज और बाजारे बन्द ।

वकीलों और मजदूरों ने भी हड़ताल की ।

बहिष्कार विरोधियों के काले कारनामे ।

जैसी कि आशा थी 3 फरवरी की हड़ताल सारे भारत में पूर्ण सफल हुई । यद्यपि बहिष्कार विरोधियों ने हड़ताल न होने देने के लिए पूरा जोर लगाया तथापि कहना चाहिए उन्हें सफलता न मिली । कुछ ऐसे लोग हमेशा हर जगह होते ही हैं जो समय की गति के साथ चलना नहीं जानते या जानते हुए भी थोड़े से स्वार्थ या किसी के दबाव में आकर देश और समाज से विद्रोह कर डालते हैं । उन्हें इसका ज्ञान नहीं रहता कि बड़े से बड़े साम्राज्य की सारी शक्ति भी लोगों के हृदय को जीत नहीं सकती जब तक कि उसके कार्य लोक

अनुमोदित न हों। यही कारण है कि कलकत्ता, मद्रास आदि बड़े नगरों के जिन बड़े-बड़े “जी हजूरी” ने हड़ताल न करने की लिखित प्रतिज्ञा तक कर दी थी उन्हें भी लोक लज्जावश हड़ताल करनी पड़ी। इस सफल हड़ताल को देखकर गोरी नौकरशाही व साइमन-बन्धु दंग रह गये होंगे, उन्हें खाल था कि शाही कमीशन द्वारा किये गये अपमान को भारतीय यों ही पानी की धूंट की तरह पी जायेंगे लेकिन नहीं। भारत ने दिखा दिया कि भले ही हमारे हाथ-पाँव तुमने “फौलादी शिकंजे” में जकड़ लिये हैं मंगर हम भीतरी (हृदय से) अभी आजाद हैं और बाहरी आजादी भी लेंगे। 3 फरवरी का दिन भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता के इतिहास में विरस्मरणीय रहेगा। कहते हैं कि कलकत्ते की हड़ताल का दृश्य देखने योग्य था। “बड़ों” की बड़ाबाजार, कालेज स्ट्रीट, बहुबाजार, हरिसन रोड आदि समस्त बाजारों में सप्लाई था। कहीं कुछ थोड़ी सी ट्रामें व बसें चल रही थीं मगर उनमें सवार थे ही नहीं या बहुत ही कम थे। हाँ, चीनियों की कुछ दुकानें खुली थीं।

स्कूल, कालेज कई तो बंद कर दिये गये, कई लड़कों के अभाव में सूने रहे, अध्यापक मिक्यूर्याँ हाँक रहे थे। खोद है कि कुछ उपद्वियों ने चलती ट्रामों व मोटरों पर पत्थर आदि बरसाये जिससे कई लोगों को ढोट आयी और ट्रामों की भी टूट-फूट हुई। इससे पुलिस को हस्तक्षेप करने का मौका मिल गया। प्रेसीडेंसी कालेज के विद्यार्थियों ने हड़ताल कर रखी थी, पुलिस ने विद्यार्थियों को डंडा से मारा। कालेज के अंग्रेज प्रिन्सिपल पर जूतों की मार पड़ी। पुलिस कमिशनर सर चार्ल्स टेगर्ट व सार्जिन्सों पर भी उत्तेजित भीड़ ने कंकड़-पत्थर बरसाये जिससे दोनों ओर के लगभग 50-55 आदमी घायल हुए। यह दशा देख सहस्र पल्लने बुलाई गई। बाजारों में पहरा रहा। करीब 100 गिरफ्तारियाँ हुई हैं। कांग्रेस के तथा अन्य कुछ प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्ति भी शाति-स्थापन के उद्योग में पुलिस द्वारा गिरफ्तार किये गये थे, मगर बाद को छोड़ दिये गये। बंगाल भर में पूर्ण हड़ताल रही। लगभग 70 फीसदी बकील उस दिन हाई कोर्ट व कच्चहरियों में न गये। सायंकाल कलकत्ते में 4 विराट सभाएँ हुई, जिनमें बहिष्कार का प्रस्ताव पास हुआ।

मद्रास - यहाँ भी काले झंडों से कमीशन का स्वागत हुआ। मकानों पर काले व राष्ट्रीय झंडे लगे थे। बकील लोग गाँधी टोपी व खाद्य की पोशाक पहन कर अदालतों में गये। मेडिकल स्कूल के छात्रों ने काले झंडे लेकर हड़ताल की। प्रायः सब हिन्दुस्तानी दुकानें और कारबार बन्द थे। लोगों में अपूर्व जोश था। ओमनी बस व ट्राम गाड़ियाँ भी बन्द थीं। कुछ मुसलमानों की दुकानें खुली थीं। हरिसन कम्पनी व कुछ शराब की दुकानें जो खुली थीं उन्हें स्वयंसेवक बन्द करवाने का प्रयत्न कर रहे थे। इनमें से हरिसन कम्पनी पर से भीड़ पर कौच की बोतलें फेंकी गईं और भीड़ उत्तेजित हो गयी। कुछ चलती ट्रामों पर पत्थर फेंके गये, पुलिस का शहर में कड़ा पहरा था, शराब व ताड़ी की दुकानें लूट कर बरबाद कर दी

गयी। पुलिस ने दो आदमियों को पकड़ा और थाने ले गये, भीड़ भी साथ हो ली, पुलिस पर भी मार पड़ी, इसके बाद भीड़ हाई कोर्ट गयी। वहाँ गवर्नर्मेंट एडवोकेट की मोटर में आग लगा दी गयी, और भी कई लोग पकड़े गये। गिरफ्तार लोग राष्ट्रीय झंडे फहराते “महात्मा गांधी की जयकार” करते हुए थाने गये। रोडे तब भी बरसते रहे और पुलिस ने भीड़ पर गोली चला दी, जिससे एक आदमी उसी समय और एक बाद को मर गया और 15/20 घायल हुए। पलटन यहाँ भी बुलायी गयी। रात को भी कांग्रेस वालों और प्रेस रिपोर्टरों पर पत्थर बरसे। हाई कोर्ट भी 12 बजे के बाद बन्द हो गयी। प्रान्त के सभी जिलों में पूर्ण हड़ताल रही।

बाह्यई - यहाँ भी यूरोपियन मुहल्लों को छोड़कर प्रायः पूर्ण हड़ताल रही। सराफा, अनाज, रुई व कपड़े के बाजारों में सब कामकाज बंद रहा। दो-एक को छोड़ कर कपड़े की सब मिलों के हजारों मजदूरों ने हड़ताल मनायी। रेल के माटुंगा कारखाने के मजदूर भी हड़ताल में शरीक रहे। मजदूरों की एक बड़ी सभा भी हुई जिसमें श्री धात्तेविन, लाई वें कट हेड़, सर जॉन साइमन व श्री मेक्डोनल्ड के पुतले जलाये गये¹ विद्यार्थियों की एक बड़ी सभा हुई। जुलूस के साथ काले झंडे लेकर ये चौपाटी की सभा में गये। वहाँ पचास हजार जन समूह था, सर चिमनलाल शीतलवाड़ सभापति थे, बहिष्कार का प्रस्ताव पास हुआ, पुलिस ने विद्यार्थियों पर यहाँ भी हमला किया पर शांति रही। बाह्यई में कमीशन के सदस्यों को देखते ही लोगों ने धिक्कार की घनि की। यहाँ बड़े-बड़े प्रदर्शन पत्रों में लिखा था “साइमन लौट जाओ”, “स्वराज्य हमारा जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है”, “ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद का नाश हो”। प्रान्त भर में सर्वत्र पूर्ण हड़ताल रही।

अन्य प्रान्त - दिल्ली में पूर्ण हड़ताल रही। कई कोई हुर्घटना नहीं हुई। कमीशन का काले झंडे से स्थागत हुआ। विद्यार्थियों ने भी हड़ताल की। पंजाब प्रान्त में भी जहाँ सफलता की आशा नहीं थी, कुछ जगहों को छोड़ हड़ताल हुई। मध्य प्रदेश में सर्वज्ञ ही शानदार हड़ताल रही। बंगलौर (मैसूर) यूनिवर्सिटी व कालेज के छात्रों ने भी काले झंडे लेकर हड़ताल की। बिहार प्रान्त में भी सर्वत्र पूर्ण हड़ताल मनायी गयी। संयुक्त प्रान्त में बनारस, इलाहाबाद, मेरठ, कानपुर आदि का नंबर प्रथम रहा। अन्य स्थानों में भी पूर्ण हड़ताल रही। प्रान्त के विषेशकर बनारस, आगरा, कानपुर, व मेरठ के स्कूलों, कालेजों के विद्यार्थियों ने भी देश की पुकार पर अपना कर्तव्य पालन किया। कई म्यूनिसिपल व ज़िला बौड़ी ने भी हड़ताल मनायी कई स्थानों पर मोटर, इक्के, गाड़ीवालों व नाव वालों ने भी हड़ताल मनायी। कई स्थानों के वकीलों डाकटरों ने भी हड़ताल में भाग लिया। जो हड़ताल में शरीक न हो सके उनमें से कई ने उस दिन की आमदनी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं को दे दी। इस प्रकार सारे भारत ने अपने आत्मसम्मान का 3 फरवरी को पूरा परिवर्य दे दिया।

**लखनऊ में 30 नवम्बर को नेताओं पर मार -
श्री पन्त व नेहरू पीटे गये**

"शक्ति साम्पादिक"

8 दिसम्बर, 1928

लखनऊ में 30 नवम्बर को पं. जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने ऐसोसिएटेड प्रेस को निम्नलिखित आशय का वक्तव्य दिया है :—

आज प्रातःकाल लखनऊ ने उस समय ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की शक्ति का अनुभव किया जबकि सौ सवार, पैदल पुलिस कांटेबिलों ने 30,000 आदमियों की भीड़ पर आक्रमण किया और उसे दो-तीन फलांग खदेड़ ले गये। सैकड़ों आदमी लाठी से पीटे गये। इनमें से कुछ बुरी तरह घायल हुए हैं और एक की तो जीने की आशा नहीं है। कई आदमी मार खा कर गिर पड़े और उनके ऊपर से घोड़े दौड़ाये गये।

यह घटना उस समय हुई जब सबेरे छः बजे बहिष्कारवादियों का जुलूस रेलवे स्टेशन के सामने वाले मैदान में पहुँचा। जुलूस वालों से उस स्थान पर जाने को कहा गया जो उनके लिए निश्चियत किया गया था और जो उस स्थान से, जहाँ से होकर कमीशन के सदस्य जाने वाले थे, करीब चौथाई मील के फासले पर था। जुलूस वालों ने वहाँ जाने से इनकार किया। कारण इतनी दूर से विरोध प्रदर्शित करना व्यर्थ जान पड़ा। बायीं और बहुत सी जमीन थी जिसमें लाखों आदमी आ सकते थे और वह किसी को दी भी नहीं गयी थी। जुलूस वाले शांति के साथ सड़क पर खड़े हो गये। जुलूस के एक छोटे भाग का मुँह बायीं और खुली जमीन की ओर था। इस भाग के सामने कुछ पुलिस सवार थे।

जुलूस के नेताओं ने कहा कि हम सड़क से काफी दूर खड़े रहने के लिए तैयार हैं पर सड़क से चौथाई मील के फासले पर नहीं खड़े होंगे। इस प्रकार जुलूस सड़क पर कुछ बायीं और हट कर खड़ा रहा। धीरे-धीरे कुछ लोग सड़क से जहाँ जुलूस खड़ा था, हट कर उस दल में जा मिले जो कमीशन वालों के मार्ग के पास खड़ा था। पर मुख्य जुलूस जिसके अगुआ श्री गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत, मैं तथा लखनऊ के अन्य कांग्रेस नेता थे, अपने स्थान पर ही खड़ा रहा।

अकस्मात् देखा गया कि एक दल पर जो मैदान के उस ओर करीब चौथाई मील के फासले पर मार्ग के समीप खड़ा था पुलिस के सवार टूट पड़े और उसे पीछे हटाने लगे। पुलिस वालों ने उन्हें निर्दर्शना से पीटा। एक-एक आदमी के पीछे घोड़े दौड़ाये गये और वे जमीन पर गिरा दिये गये। इस बीच जुलूस वाले सड़क के पास स्थिरता से खड़े रहे। सवार

पुलिस ने मुख्य जुलूस को पीछे हटाना चाहा पर वह दृढ़ता से अपने स्थान पर खड़ा रहा। पश्चात् सवार तथा पैदल पुलिस ने जुलूस पर हमला किया। इस पर सड़क वाले सड़क की दूसरी ओर हट गये। पुलिस ने उन्हें पीटा और उन पर ढेले चलाये थे, जुलूस वालों के उस स्थान पर पहुँच जाने पर भी जो उन्हें पहले से दिया गया था, पुलिस वालों ने भीड़ को दो हजार गज पीछे हटाया। ईट-पत्थर पुलिस वाले फेंकते थे, पर कुछ मिनट भीड़ वालों ने भी उन पर टेंटे फेंके। इस प्रकार भीषण आक्रमण होने पर भी जुलूस नहीं दूटा। जुलूस वाले पुनः एकत्र होकर खड़े हो गये। उनके सामने ही कुछ दूर पर सवार तथा पैदल पुलिस के आदमी खड़े थे।

कुछ काल बाद कमीशन वाले गये, जिस पर “साइमन लौट जाओ” तथा “शर्म शर्म” की धोर गर्जना हुई।

पश्चात् जुलूस शांति के साथ शहर में लौट आया और अमीनुद्दीला पार्क में मेरा भाषण होने के बाद लोग तितर-बितर हो गये। मुख्य-मुख्य बहिष्कारवादियों में प्रायः सब ही धायल हुए।

मुझे दो-तीन लाठियाँ लगी थीं कि विद्यार्थियों ने मुझे घेर लिया। मुझे बचाने के लिये वे खुद मार खाने को तैयार थे। मेरी, श्री पन्त की तथा श्री मिश्र की रक्षा करते हुये इसमें से कई बीर युवकों को गहरी चोटें आयीं।

जाके की बात छोड़ दी जाये तो भी पुलिस का यह आक्रमण अत्यत पाश्विक था। जब-जब भीड़ वहाँ गयी उस समय पुलिस वहाँ मौजूद थी, उसी समय उसे रोक सकती थी। पुलिस भीड़ पर अकस्मात् टूट पड़ी और उन पर लाठियों से चाहे जिस पर प्रहार किया। यह बड़ी निन्दनीय बात हुई। डिप्टी कमिश्नर साहब खुद उत्तेजित हो गये। लोगों को गर्दनियाँ देने तथा ढकेलने लगे। पुलिस अधिकारियों के व्यवहार से निःशस्त्र आदमियों पर उनके टूट पड़ने से स्पष्ट मालूम होता था कि उनमें प्रतिहिंसा भरी है। कहा जाता है कि वे खुले आम शेर्खी बेघार रहे हैं कि हमनें बहिष्कारवादियों को खूब ठोका।

लखनऊ ने विशेषकर यहाँ के नवयुवकों तथा विद्यार्थियों ने अपने विनायनुशासन तथा साहस से अपनी विशेषता दिखलायी है। आज प्रातःकाल की घटनाओं के लिये लखनऊ अभिमान कर सकता है और इन घटनाओं के लिये अधिकारी जिम्मेदार हैं। उन्होंने भारत में ऐसा वायुमंडल उपस्थित करने में आज ऐसी मदद दी है कि वह ब्रिटिश राज्य का नाश कर देगी।